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KJERULF AND WELHAVEN:
THE ADVENT OF ROMANTIC LIEDER AND POETRY
IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY NORWAY

BY
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DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Musicology
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2011

Urbana, Illinois

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Abstract

This thesis traces the development of the romantic *Lied* and poetry in Norway in the first half of the nineteenth century, a development driven by two closely intertwined figures, the composer Halfdan Kjerulf (1815-1868) and the poet Johan Sebastian Cammermeyer Welhaven (1807-1873). Welhaven was Norway's first Romantic poet in the Heidelberg tradition, a trend which took its inspiration from folklore, folk music, and medieval myths. His probing nationalistic depiction of nature, interwoven with supernatural folkloristic elements, and his elegiac-erotic and lyrical poetry inspired Kjerulf to create the Norwegian romance, *Den norske romanse*, modeling it initially on the German *Lied*. During the years from 1840 to 1868, Kjerulf set 43 Welhaven poems to music – 24 for solo voice and piano – and with his more than 130 songs established the Norwegian art-song that Edvard Grieg would build on during the decades following Kjerulf's death.

After presenting the cultural and political background in Norway, the intertwined lives of the poet and composer and their European cultural heritage, this thesis turns to a detailed analysis of the complete Welhaven romances for one voice, and demonstrates how Kjerulf and Welhaven, initially oriented towards Denmark and Europe, the Danish language and the German *Lied*, developed a growing appreciation for national traits and language. These features became visible in their works from the 1850s onward through Kjerulf's development of art songs infused with elements drawn from Norwegian folk music, and Welhaven's inclusion of folk myths and folklore in his poetry, accompanied by a gradual replacement of Danish words with the Norwegian vernacular.

This work is based primarily on archival material: Kjerulf's extensive collection of dairies and letters, as well as Welhaven's large correspondence, travel sketches, polemical writings, and literary research; and the biographical works of Nils Grinde, Børre Qvamme, Ingard Hauge, Arne Løcken, and Anne-Lise Seip.

To my loving family, both in Norway and the United States

Acknowledgments

I am forever grateful to my parents for giving me a love of music. My mother's family introduced me as a child to Halfdan Kjerulf, whose wonderful romances were performed as *Hausmusik* in our home, as well as in other family members' homes, throughout my youth. Our admiration for Kjerulf was twofold: we treasured his music and felt a particular affection towards the composer as my maternal grandfather's grandmother's uncle.

It has been a special pleasure to work with my adviser Professor William Kinderman, who wholeheartedly supported me in this project, beginning with my Master's thesis, and who constantly gave me valuable guidance; his critical reading of this thesis very much improved it. I am grateful to the other members of my dissertation committee, Professors Christina Bashford, Gayle Magee, and Rochelle Wright; their thoughtful advice significantly expanded the perspective of this thesis.

I also wish to thank my external adviser Professor Emeritus Nils Grinde of the University of Oslo, the leading expert on Kjerulf, who carefully improved my analysis of the Welhaven songs. He also very kindly shared with me his material on Welhaven, transcribed the romance *Ved Havet* for this thesis, and provided information that was difficult to obtain from other sources. I spent a wonderful afternoon in Oslo with the great Kjerulf curator, Dr. Halfdan Kierulf, a direct descendent of the composer's uncle; I thank him in particular for sharing his Kjerulf scores, pictures and other memorabilia with me. I would also like to thank the archivists at the National Library in Oslo for their help with finding letters and other material relating to Kjerulf, the National Library in Copenhagen for greatly expediting my research, and most of all, the members of the staff of the Music Library at the University of Illinois, including Marlys Scarbrough, Christopher Pawlicki, William Buss, and John Wagstaff, who have been truly remarkable in helping me when I most needed it. Finally I would like to thank my husband Gordon Baym for his unending encouragement, patience, cooking, and technical help during my writing of this thesis.

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Halfdan Kjerulf, 1815-1868

“I still would sincerely hope that he never will become a Norwegian musician. He might, like me, end up singing about the happiness of love, but himself have to do without it. (Kjerulf’s letter to a friend congratulating him on the birth of a son.) [“Fremdeles vil jeg inderlig ønske ham, at han aldrig maa vorde norsk Musikus. Det kunde da gaae ham som mig at synge om Kærligheds Lykke og selv at maatte undvære den.”]



Johan Sebastian Cammermeyer Welhaven, 1807-1873

“Besides, I will now as before leave my poetics to itself. I have so far quietly followed its destiny and no obstruction has been able to draw me away from the considerable gratification I have experienced and achieved on this path.” (Welhaven on his poetics.) [Iøvrigt vil jeg nu som før overlade min Digtning til sig selv. Dens Skjæbner har jeg hidtil fulgt med Rolighed, og ingen Mistydning har kunnet bringe mig til at se bort fra det meget Glædelige, jeg paa den Vei har oplevet og vundet.]

Preface

Romantic song and poetry blossomed in Norway in the mid-1840s, some twenty years after the Romantic literary movement – rooted above all in Weimar and Jena and mediated to Scandinavia through Copenhagen – had faded in Europe, and a shift toward realism or idealism had taken its place.¹ This evolution was driven by two closely intertwined figures, the composer Halvdan Kjerulf (1815-1868), the creator of the Norwegian Romantic *Lied*, and the poet Johan Sebastian Cammermeyer Welhaven (1807-1873), notably the first Norwegian poet to blend Classical and Romantic currents, bringing National Romanticism into poetry.² Neither had Norwegian models to build on. Instead they looked south to mainland Europe for musical and poetic inspiration. In addition, they developed and nurtured each other through admiration, love, and family bonds. Kjerulf matured as a composer through the setting of Welhaven's poems, which he cherished and chose because they "always brought out the music" in him; Welhaven, who was strongly influenced by the philologist Lyder Sagen, the poet Adam Oehlenschläger, the poet and critic Johan Ludvig Heiberg, and the dramatist, poet, and literary theorist Friedrich Schiller, fused Danish and German romanticism and aesthetics with Norwegian naturalism and mysticism. He matured as a poet through his undying love for Kjerulf's only sister Ida, all the more so after her untimely death at age 22, immediately after their engagement.

Kjerulf and Welhaven shared similar cultural backgrounds, early life experiences, and conservative political views. They fought against dilettantism and cultural debasement; they wanted to educate and enrich the young Norwegian nation and preserve its close bonds to Denmark; they loved the beauty of nature and low-voiced elegies. Emotional restraint was characteristic of both artists.

The present study explains Kjerulf and Welhaven's artistic development and places their collaboration within the cultural background of European Romanticism. Most significant

¹Edvard Beyer, Ingard Hauge, and Olav Bø, "Fra Wergeland til Vinje" [From Wergeland to Vinje], in *Norges Literaturhistorie*, Edvard Beyer, ed., vol. II (Oslo: Cappelen, 1995) 248; Toril Moi, *Henrik Ibsen and the Birth of Modernism: Art, Theatre, Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) 82.

²Like Brahms in music, Welhaven adhered strictly to the classical forms; however his non-polemic poetics are filled with romantic tropes.

are Kjerulf's ties to Copenhagen and Leipzig, the influences on him of German Romantic music in general and the *Lied* in particular, and his assimilation of Romantic musical traits in his songs or romances. I further trace Welhaven's ties to German Classicism and Idealism, the Heidelberg Romantics – who took their inspiration from folklore, folk music, and medieval myths – and the Danish Romantic school and literary criticism, and show how Welhaven's elegiac-erotic and lyrical poetry became the main inspiration for Kjerulf in his development of the Norwegian romance. I examine how the composer and poet gradually became drawn into the Norwegian National Romantic movement, which captivated every layer of the population in the early and middle 1800s, and show how both men, almost against their will, adapted to Norwegian culture and folklore. Kjerulf incorporated Norwegian folk music into his tonal language, while Welhaven celebrated Norwegian nature and mysticism, and gradually replaced Danish words with Norwegian vernacular.

The important artistic outcome of their relationship was Kjerulf's 43 settings of Welhaven's poems for voice and piano, male choir, and male quartet. I examine all 24 of Kjerulf's settings for one voice, placing these songs in their cultural and historical context. Significant as well is the performance practice of the time, which reflects the European tradition of *Hausmusik* and public concerts of mixed repertory. Kjerulf rose to fame within the Norwegian-Swedish union, and his success was bound up with his membership in the upper social class and his connections to the Swedish king and court. His work became known through public concerts in Christiania (Oslo) and Stockholm, as well as through his romances for domestic use.

This thesis qualitatively elaborates and expands on my earlier Master of Arts dissertation, *Kjerulf's Settings of texts by Welhaven: the Norwegian Art Song in a Time of Transition*, which discusses only Kjerulf's early Welhaven romances.³

Several scholars have studied the rise of Norwegian romanticism and nationalism in the early 19th century, particularly Edvard Beyer, Ingard Hauge, and Olav Bø;⁴ and Nils Grinde.⁵ Harald Herresthal has provided an excellent description of music and politics in the time of the National Romantic breakthrough,⁶ and JillMichelle Cosart has offered an overview of National Romanticism in 19th century Norwegian music.⁷

³Cathrine Blom, *Kjerulf's Settings of texts by Welhaven: the Norwegian Art Song in a Time of Transition*, Master of Arts dissertation, University of Illinois, 2002.

⁴Beyer, Hauge, and Bø, 1995.

⁵Nils Grinde, "The Emergence of National Romanticism" in *A History of Norwegian Music* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 1991.)

⁶Harald Herresthal, *Med Spark i Gulvet og Quinter i Bassen: Musikalske og politiske bilder fra nasjonalromantikkens gjennombrudd i Norge* [With Floor Kicks and Fifths in the Bass: Musical and political pictures from the National Romantic breakthrough in Norway] (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1993).

⁷JillMichelle Cosart, *National Romanticism in Nineteenth-Century Norwegian Music*. Ph.D. dissertation,

The role of Kjerulf as founding father of the Norwegian romance is well established, especially through Nils Grinde's thorough research on the composer and his works,⁸ and Børre Qvamme's vivid historical description of the period.⁹ Also well documented are Kjerulf's settings of texts by Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, written in the Norwegian *vise* [ballad] style,¹⁰ and his collection of German *Lieder*, mostly set to texts by Emanuel Geibel, in the German *Lied* tradition.¹¹ Robert Wallace Olson has compared selected romances by Kjerulf, including eight Welhaven songs, with selected romances by Edvard Grieg and Eyvind Alnæs;¹² Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe has examined modality in Kjerulf's music;¹³ and Patrick Dinslage and Harald Herresthal have investigated the influence of Kjerulf's teacher, the German composer Carl Arnold, on Kjerulf's compositional style.¹⁴

Substantial attention has been devoted to Welhaven's life and works. Fundamental are the editions of Hauge, who has perfected, annotated, and reissued Welhaven's collected works in five volumes (referred to here as WSV I-V);¹⁵ Other important scholarly contributions include Arne Løchen's excellent biography from 1900,¹⁶ and the 2007 comprehensive biography by Anne-Lise Seip, written on the occasion of Welhaven's 200th birthday.¹⁷ Gregor Gumpert has investigated Welhaven's aesthetics and dichotomous aspects of his style.¹⁸ Hauge has

University of Oregon, 1996.

⁸Nils Grinde, "En Halfdan Kjerulf-biografi" [A Halfdan Kjerulf Biography], in *Norsk Musikkgranskning, Årbok 1954-1955*, Ole M. Sandvik, ed. (Oslo, 1956) 17-107; Grinde, ed., *Halfdan Kjerulfs Samlede Romanser* [Halfdan Kjerulf's Collected Romances], vols. I & II (Oslo: Norsk Musikkforlag, 1977); Grinde, *Halfdan Kjerulf, nordmann og europeer* [Halfdan Kjerulf, Norwegian and European] (Oslo: Musikk-Husets Forlag, 2003).

⁹Børre Qvamme, *Halfdan Kjerulf og hans tid* [Halfdan Kjerulf and his time period] (Oslo: Solum, 1998).

¹⁰Astrid Haavardsholm, *Halfdan Kjerulfs romanser til tekster av Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson* [Halfdan Kjerulf's romances to texts by Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson], Master of Arts dissertation, University of Oslo, Norway, 1969.

¹¹Ida Gericke, *Halfdan Kjerulf: hans tyske romanser* [Halfdan Kjerulf: his German Romances], Master of Arts dissertation, Musikkhøgskolen i Oslo, 1998.

¹²Robert Wallace Olson, *A Comparative Study of Selected Norwegian Romances by Halfdan Kjerulf, Edvard Grieg, and Eyvind Alnæs*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1973.

¹³Dag Schjelderup-Ebbe, "Modality in Halfdan Kjerulf's Music," *Music and Letters* 38 (1957) 238-246.

¹⁴Patrick Dinslage and Harald Herresthal, "Halfdan Kjerulf og læretiden hos Carl Arnold" [Halfdan Kjerulf's study with Carl Arnold], *Studia musicologica Norvegica* 24 (1998) 15-38.

¹⁵*Johan Sebastian Welhaven, Samlede Verker* [Collected Works], vols. I-V, Ingard Hauge, ed. (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1991).

¹⁶Arne Løchen, *J.S. Welhaven: Liv og Skrifter* [J.S. Welhaven: Life and Works] (Kristiania: Aschehoug, 1900).

¹⁷Anne-Lise Seip, *Demringstid. Johan Sebastian Welhaven og nasjonen* [The time of Dawn. Johan Sebastian Welhaven and the nation] (Oslo: Aschehoug, 2007).

¹⁸Gregor Gumpert, *Johan Sebastian Welhavens Æsthetik und Dichtungstheorie* [Johan Sebastian Welhaven's Aesthetics and Poetic Theory] (Münster: Kleinheinrich, 1990); "Welhaven hinsides klassikk og romantikk" [Welhaven beyond Classicism and Romanticism], *Demringens tolker. En essaysamling om Johan Sebastian Welhaven* [The Dawn's Interpreter. A collection of essays about Johan Sebastian Welhaven], Asbjørn Aarnes and Paul Grøtvedt, eds. (Oslo: Aventura, 1990) 50-62.

assessed his historical position¹⁹ and the religious dimension of his poetry.²⁰ Per Saugstad has offered an analysis of Welhaven's poetic style, describing his efforts on behalf of the beautification of Christiania and the education of the general public through art²¹; Reidar Andersen-Næss has traced the connection between Welhaven's poetry and his personality²²; and Jens Braage Halvorsen has provided a vivid description of the poet, peppered with citations from his friends and foes.²³

While a number of scholars have written about either Kjerulf and Welhaven – Grinde and Qvamme most abundantly about Kjerulf, and Løchen, Hauge, and Seip about Welhaven – detailed discussion of their collaboration has been lacking. The interconnected lives of composer and poet, as well as analysis of all but the most popular of Kjerulf's Welhaven settings, remained hitherto uncharted territory. My study shows how Welhaven's poems, through Kjerulf's music, continued to live long after his own popularity had waned, and how they inspired Kjerulf to move past his beloved German *Lied*, developing Norwegian tone colors in his music, tone colors that became synonymous with the Norwegian art song.

In addition to published musical scores and letters of Kjerulf, and published poems and letters of Welhaven, I have drawn heavily upon unpublished archival material from the Norwegian Music Collection [Norsk Musikkksamling], Kjerulf's unpublished diaries, as well as from the Letter Collection [Håndskriftsamlingen] and the Poster Collection [Plakatsamlingen], all in the Norwegian National Library [Nasjonalbiblioteket] in Oslo. I have also extensively consulted Hauge's superb annotations in his edition of Welhaven's collected works. Owing to my having drawn material from the same primary sources as these authors, my analysis of the upbringing, life, and work of the poet and composer are consistent with their accounts.

This dissertation is organized into a prelude, four chapters, and a postlude. The prelude sets the cultural stage by reviewing the relevant background features of German Classicism and Romanticism in Europe and later in Norway, as well as the political turmoil connected to these developments. We see here the important role the Jena circle in literary Romanticism assumes, exerting influence in Denmark and elsewhere in Scandinavia. The prelude assesses reasons for the delayed impact of the Romantic movement in Norway, a situation owing

¹⁹Beyer, Hauge, and Bø, 1995, 237-287.

²⁰Ingard Hauge, *Tanker og tro i Welhavens poesi* [Thought and belief in Welhaven's poetry] (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1955).

²¹Per Saugstad, *J. S. Welhaven. En idealenes vokter* [J. S. Welhaven. A guardian of ideals] (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1967).

²²Reidar Andersen-Næss, *J. S. Welhaven; mennesket og dikteren* [J. S. Welhaven; the Man and the Poet] (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1959).

²³Jens Braage Halvorsen, "Johan Sebastian Welhaven," *Norsk Forfatter-Lexikon Sjette Bind* [Norwegian Writers-Encyclopedia 6th vol.] (Kristiania: Den Norske Forlagsforening, 1908) 324-384.

largely to the country's particular political circumstances.

The first chapter introduces the composer and the poet, discusses their personalities, background and education, their struggles and infatuations, and their establishment of a close mutual relationship, based on Kjerulf's deep admiration for Welhaven, and Welhaven's fervent love for Kjerulf's sister Ida. I argue that the personal connection between Welhaven and members of Kjerulf's family, and the two men's similar ideologies, aesthetics, and fates, drew Kjerulf close to Welhaven's poetry. Kjerulf was not allowed to marry the woman he loved; neither was Welhaven. Kjerulf never married, while Welhaven transferred his love for the deceased Ida to her younger brother Hjalmar, and ultimately to his first-born child (whom he named Ida!).

The second chapter discusses Kjerulf and Welhaven's European Romantic legacy. Important themes are the influences of the Danish Romantic movement and Oehlenschläger on Welhaven, and the connection of his aesthetics to that of Sagen, Heiberg, and Schiller. This chapter discusses Kjerulf's relationship to the same intellectual forces and to Welhaven's aesthetics. It also addresses the tendency of early 18th century Norwegian artists – Kjerulf included – to look to Europe, and to Germany in particular, where most of them were educated, a tendency providing the background for the emergence in the 1830s of a strong opposition to the dominant German style.

Chapters 3 and 4 present detailed analyses of Kjerulf's 24 Welhaven songs (in total 28, but several were set to the same texts), assessing the Romantic and national traits found in the music and poetry. Chapter 3 focusses on Kjerulf's early, pre-Leipzig romances and his infatuation with the German style; Chapter 4 turns to the Welhaven settings from his years of increasing fame and recognition, when many of his romances acquired a distinctly national tonal language. These chapters illuminate as well how Kjerulf's songs became an integral part of the performance culture of the time, as they were performed by his family, amateurs and friends, and local and visiting professional musicians.

The postlude addresses Kjerulf and Welhaven's later reception and influence, and the spreading of their *œuvres* beyond Scandinavia. It also considers the setting of Welhaven's poems by other composers, including Norwegian female composers, from dilettantes to professionals, who were drawn to his Romantic poetry. The postlude closes with an afterword on Kjerulf and Welhaven's accomplishments, their unique time and place in Norwegian Romanticism, and their development of national traits in music and poetry.

The Appendix presents the complete catalog of the Kjerulf Welhaven-romances for one voice.

Prelude: Classicism, Romanticism, and Nationalism in Central Europe and Norway

In 1789 the French Revolution, with its slogan, *liberté, égalité, fraternité*, ignited a broader nationalistic movement and a call for democracy and liberalism which spread rapidly in Europe. Weimar, capital of the liberal *Kleinstadt* Saxe-Weimar, which included the university town of Jena, had already drawn a number of intellectuals to its midst, including the German critic, theologian, and philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder, a leading figure of the *Sturm und Drang* literary movement, Johann Wolfgang Goethe, already established as a giant in world literature as well as a critic and natural philosopher, and Friedrich Schiller, by then a widely recognized dramatist and poet. By the mid-nineties, so many intellectuals had gathered in the town that Goethe jokingly called Weimar a city of ten thousand poets and a few inhabitants.²⁴ Under the auspices of Duchess Anna Amalia, the regent of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, this group undertook the challenge of creating an aesthetic state built on the classical principles of ancient Athens, with its emphasis on the role of education through beauty and form in the arts.²⁵ From Goethe's arrival in 1775 until approximately 1832, the year of his death, Weimar indeed became the center of Classicism in Europe, with *its* emphasis on the beautiful, ideal, ordered, and objective. From the 1790's onward nearby Jena, in close intellectual contact with Weimar, would become a center of Romanticism, emphasizing the exact opposite, the revolutionary, emotional, irrational, and subjective.

In 1795 Schiller, a professor of history and philosophy in Jena since 1789, published his *Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen* [Aesthetic Letters]. His theory of the aesthetic state, modeled in part on the Greek worship of the beautiful, held that beauty represented the way to freedom²⁶ and that beauty ruled the senses through Nature. Schiller further argued that humankind could be ennobled through poetry and art: beauty helps refine social behavior, and the cultivation of good taste eases the communication between the

²⁴Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Conversations with Goethe with Eckerman and Soret*, transl. by John Oxenford, revised ed. (London: George Bell & Sons, 1883) 138.

²⁵Joseph Chytry, *The Aesthetic State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989) 39-40.

²⁶"... weil es die Schönheit ist, durch welche man zu der Freyheit wandert" (*Schillers Werke* Nationalausgabe, vol. 20 (Weimar: Bölaus Nachfolger, 1862) Zweyter Brief: 312.)

different social classes.²⁷ For Schiller, art is education, and all political change begins with the poet.²⁸ As we shall see, this guiding principle would strongly resonate with Welhaven.

Similarly, Herder called the poet “a creator of a people,” arguing that what unites a *Volk* is its language.²⁹ Because language embodies thought, and thought is communal, people with the same language can share the same culture and collective spirit.³⁰ Still, to Herder music was the most sublime art because it was capable of lifting man above himself into regions of pure spirit, thereby freeing him of all worldly senses – an idea which Goethe similarly put forth.³¹ Herder insisted that humans and nature share a cosmic *Kraft*, and he tirelessly argued that poetry, music, and dance were originally one united force, whereby language was sung.³²

In Jena, a new generation of young intellectuals gathered just before the turn of the century. Among them were the writers August Schlegel and his brother Friedrich Schlegel, Ludwig Tieck, Novalis (Friedrich von Hardenberg), and the philosophers Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Johan Gottlieb Fichte, and Friedrich Joseph Wilhelm von Schelling, the three most influential thinkers in the tradition of German Idealism.³³ The Norwegian scientist and philosopher Henrik Steffens was also part of the Jena group.³⁴ Echoing Plato, Schelling and Herder considered the true, the good, and the beautiful to be one. But unlike Plato, they considered artistic beauty the supreme expression and the philosopher-poet, or inspired genius, its supreme intermediary,³⁵ a thought later to be echoed in Schopenhauer and Wagner. Called the Jena Romantics, this group of intellectuals caused a profound shift in ideas compared to Weimar classicism, advocating the genius’ right to follow his inclination, rather than aesthetic rules. Despite the heated debate that arose between the two cities, Goethe, who loved Jena and spent months there at a time, insisted that Weimar and Jena were connected in spirit and heavily dependent on each other.³⁶ The new literary style

²⁷Ibid. Sieben und zwanzigster Brief: 410.

²⁸Ibid. Neunter Brief: 334.

²⁹“Nur durch Sprache wird ein Volk, nur durch gemeinschaftliche Sprache werden Menschen humanisiert” (*Herders sämtliche Werke*, vol. 18, 1883: 387).

³⁰Josef Chytrý, *The Aesthetic State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989) 49; Richard Baumann and Charles L. Briggs, *Voices of Modernity. Language Ideologies and the Politics of Inequality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 189.

³¹Friedrich Blume, *Classic and Romantic Music* (New York: Norton and Co, 1970) 14.

³²“Bei dem Griechen war die ganze Sprache Gesang” (HsW, vol. 23, 1885:337); “[E]r sang wie sie es sah und hörte, und seine Gesänge blieben im Ohr und Munde” (HsW, vol. 5, 1891: 114).

³³Chytrý 1989: 135; Jena Lichtstadt, Jenaer Frühromantik / Jena an der Wende vom 18. zum 19. Jh. <http://www.jena.de/sixcms/detail.php?id=10896>.

³⁴Steffens, Goethe, Schiller, and Schlegel drank champagne together at a court masquerade in Weimar on New Year’s Eve, 31 Dec. 1800, celebrating what they regarded as the beginning of the new century (*The Nation*, vol. 70, no. 1803 (New York: New York Evening Post Co., 1900) 52).

³⁵Moi 2006: 72.

³⁶Chytrý 1989: 68, n. 132. Schiller, teaching in Jena and residing in Weimar, belonged to both towns.

of Jena Romanticism exerted substantial impact on modern poetry and music.

Friedrich Schlegel coined the term *Romantic*, – the adjectival form of *Roman* – which he used in his early essays and fragments. *Roman* to Schlegel denoted a literary style fusing old literary forms into a generically ambiguous work of art containing traces of the fantastic, mysterious, and grotesque³⁷ as in Goethe’s novel *Wilhelm Meister*.³⁸

The Romantic fascination with the past, the remote, and lost love was given unforgettable expression by Novalis. When his fiancée died at the tender age of 16, he portrayed his torment in the captivating *Hymnen an die Nacht*, where he foresees that he, after his own death, will experience a mystical and loving reunion with his beloved and the universe as a whole, a story reminiscent of the Norwegian Romantic poet Henrik Wergeland’s *Stella* poems. Novalis gave to Romantic longing one of its key symbols, the *Blue Flower*, the central image of visions in his idealized Medieval romance *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, which describes the mystical and romantic searching of a young poet.

The Jena Romantics tended to experience nature as sound; the whole of nature reverberating like an enormous cosmic orchestra. Consequently they regarded music as the most romantic of the arts.³⁹ Sound was also related to distance, an important romantic trope, and could evoke memories of the past or the distant beloved, e.g., church bells, horn calls, birdsong, echoes. For Novalis, distance transformed prose into poetry and sound into music. He writes that, “in the distance everything becomes . . . Romantic.”⁴⁰ Jean Paul, who defined Romanticism as the beautiful infinite, called echo the moonlight of sound.⁴¹ The sound of a flute coming from afar and fading away marks the end of his fantastic novel *Flegeljahre*, on which Robert Schumann based his first romantic musical manifesto *Papillons*, his Opus 2. Schumann also embraced Jean Paul’s portrayal of his split *alter ego*, represented in *Flegeljahre* as Valt and Vult and in *Papillons* as Florestan and Eusebius, as well as his definition of Romanticism: “Romantic is beauty without limit, or *beautiful* infinity, just as there is a

³⁷John Daverio, *Nineteenth-Century Music and the German Romantic Ideology* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1993) 3.

³⁸Goethe first insisted that “everything that is excellent is *eo ipso* Classic.” After Schiller convinced his friend that he was in fact a Romantic writer, Goethe defined Classicism as dealing with the real and Romanticism as dealing with the fantastic, the illusory; “it is delusive as a magic lantern picture” (Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Ludwig Lewisohn, *Goethe, the Story of a Man*, vol. 2 (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1949) 159).

³⁹Ruth Kantz and Carl Dahlhaus, “Contemplating Music,” vol. III, *Essence* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1992.)

⁴⁰Novalis, *Das allgemeine Brouillon, in Schriften*, Richard Samuel and Paul Kluckhohn, eds., vol. 3, (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1960) 302; Berthold Hoeckner, “Schumann and Romantic Distance,” *JAMS* 50 (1997): 55.

⁴¹Jean Paul Friedrich Richter, *Titan: A Romance*, transl. by Charles T. Brooks, vol. II (London: Trübner & Co., 1863) 378.

sublime infinity.”⁴²

After the premature death of Novalis in 1801, the Romantic movement resurfaced in Heidelberg, albeit in new clothes, with strong nationalistic undertones. Through the collection of folk songs and folk tales, Romanticism became nationalism’s most important ally and stimulant.⁴³

German nationalism and Romanticism emerged through Herder’s treatise of 1772, “Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache” [Treatise on the Origin of Language], where he argues that since people need language to express thoughts, language makes humans human. From Herder’s treatise it followed that no language – and therefore culture – is inferior or superior to any other. Hence the Germans, having a language and culture that were distinctly theirs, had no reason to feel subordinate toward their much hated neighbor and oppressor, France.⁴⁴ Herder’s treatise created a strong feeling of cultural identity, which was of great significance to the plethora of German speaking states with different rulers and religions, states that had been divided willy-nilly by wars and political treaties. To quote Taruskin: “What cements social groups under nationalism is not social rank as instituted by men but higher, more universal principles – blood, soil, language.”⁴⁵ As discussed below, similar currents would arise in Norway.

Paramount to the German nationalistic movement in the arts was its interest in peasant songs and tales, the former instigated by Herder through his collection of German folk songs, first published in 1773 as “Stimmen der Völker in ihren Liedern” [Voices of the People in their Songs], the latter by the brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, who published their *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* [Children’s and Household Tales] in 1812. Herder also coined the term *Volkslied* to denote what earlier had been called a “simple” or “rustic” peasant song.⁴⁶ The word *Volkslied* was soon adapted in the Norwegian vernacular as *folkeviser*; as were the words *Nationaltheater* (*Nationalteater*) and *Volktheater* (*Folketeater*).

For a short period after 1805, Heidelberg became the center for German political nationalism and Romanticism. The movement manifested itself in all the visual arts, literature, and music, and became the most important expressional vehicle in the preceding nationalistic battles and cries for unification among a number of nations in Europe, which had been split

⁴²“Das Romantische ist das Schöne ohne Begrenzung oder das schöne Unendliche, so wie es ein erhabenes gibt . . . ” Jean Paul, *Vorschule der Ästhetik*, in *Sämtliche Werke*, ser. 1, vol. 11 (Weimar: Herman Böhlhaus Nachfolger, 1935) 77; Hoeckner 1997: 62.

⁴³Richard Taruskin, “Nationalism”, *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, eds. (London: Macmillan, 2001), XVII: 689.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid.

randomly or traded in the wake of wars and political treaties.⁴⁷ So also Norway, which, after having been handed over to Sweden in the Kiel treaty of 1814, wanted once again to become a sovereign state, and not be forced into a new union. (The folktale collector Jørgen Moe later argued that with its history, living folklore [norsk levende folkeliv], and nature, Norway should rank as number one among the Nordic countries.⁴⁸ Even Kjerulf, with his close ties to the Swedish kings, and Welhaven, both conservative and fighting for a close cultural and ideological relationship between the Nordic countries in the late 1850s, maintained that it was imperative to Norway to carry through and guard its sovereignty as a nation.⁴⁹)

In Heidelberg, Romanticism developed its most familiar traits, taking an interest in medieval myths, folklore, and folk ballads. One of its biggest achievements was the issuing of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* [The Youths Magic Horn] between 1805-1808, a superb anthology of German folk songs gathered by Clemens Brentano and Achim von Arnim. The Heidelberg Romantics further adopted the Weimar school's deep appreciation for the beauties of nature. Descriptions of nature infused poetry and literature, and landscape paintings replaced religious and mythological motifs. Although not connected to the Heidelberg movement, Caspar David Friedrich's depiction of the lonely wanderer became the emblem of the Romantic work of art.

The Norwegian Steffens, who joined the Jena circle in 1798, brought German Romanticism to Denmark, from where it slowly spread to Norway. Upon his return to Denmark in 1802, Steffens gave glowing lectures on Schelling's *Naturphilosophie*, nature as visible spirit, art as the highest philosophy, and the artist as nature's interpreter.⁵⁰ One of Steffens' most enthusiastic students in turn was the Danish poet Adam Oehlenschläger, who, with his lyric poem *Guldhornene* [The Golden Horns], revolutionized Danish poetry the same year, and subsequently became the leader of the Romantic movement in Denmark.⁵¹

According to Beyer, the Romantic movement "reached Norway as a mild breeze" in the 1820s, long after it had battered Denmark and Sweden with a gale.⁵² Although Niels Treschow, the first Norwegian Professor of Philosophy, started spreading Schelling's Romantic philosophy in Norway by 1813, Romanticism did not catch on due to the major events

⁴⁷Beyer, Hauge, and Bø 1995: 36.

⁴⁸Moe 1917: 277.

⁴⁹WSV IV: 414.

⁵⁰Steffens (1773-1845) reminiscences about the rise of Romanticism in Denmark in his memoirs *Was ich erlebte*, 1840-44, abridged as "The Story of My Career." When he visited Christiania in July 1840, the students held a torchlight procession in his honor. Whether Welhaven met Steffens in person on this occasion is not documented, but in a letter to Ida Kjerulf dated 4 August, he mentions that Steffens was willing to help him regarding a trip abroad (WSV V: 131).

⁵¹Beyer, Hauge, and Bø 1995: 36-37.

⁵²Ibid. 40.

that took place in the first two decades of 19th century Norway: the breaking up of the 400 year long debilitating union with Denmark, a new forced union with Sweden, and the writing of a new Norwegian constitution.

Even though Norway had been a kingdom since the 9th century, it shared a king with Denmark from the 14th century onwards, and later became a Danish province, albeit with a special status, as part of what was known officially as the *Union Denmark-Norway*. Hence the governor of Norway and most high officials were Danish, and writing was in the Danish language. Copenhagen, with its university and the Royal Danish Orchestra [*Kapel*] and Royal Theater, served as the educational and cultural capital of the two countries. Norway had a small but powerful upper class, most of its members of Danish or German descent, and the professional artists, mainly actors and musicians, working in Norway were recruited from Denmark and Germany.

The Napoleonic wars profoundly changed the political map and culture in Scandinavia. Denmark, siding with Napoleon, was forced by the Treaty of Kiel in January 1814 to cede Norway to Sweden, which had sided with England. Norway seized the opportunity to write a new constitution, which was proclaimed in May, just four months after entering the union with Sweden. The Swedish king accepted Norwegian home rule, and a Norwegian parliament was set up in Christiania. The Norwegian parliament, for its part, accepted sharing a king and foreign policy with Sweden.

Despite the new union with Sweden, the strong bonds between Norway and Denmark continued. Many Norwegian citizens had family ties to Denmark, including both Kjerulf and Welhaven. Owing to Norway's earlier status as a Danish province, the country lacked higher level educational institutions, including high schools, universities, and academies. While the first Danish university was founded in 1479, it took until 1811 before Norway was granted the right to found its own university, *Det Kongelige Fredericks Universitet* [The Royal Frederick University], which was inaugurated in 1813,⁵³ The first Dan-



Christiania in 1814, the year it became the capital of Norway

⁵³The only education available in Norway at the beginning of the 19th century was the eight-year primary education offered by the former Cathedral schools, later Latin schools, in the cathedral cities, Christiania, Bergen, Trondhjem, Christiansand, and Hamar. The schools had a total number of about 200 students of whom more than 50% were either sons of priests or lawyers, Welhaven and Kjerulf included. To enter the university a student had to pass the *Examen artium* and then *Examen philosophicum* and also known as the University of Christiania. These exams were given solely by the university, i.e., before 1813, only in Copenhagen (Oskar Brandt, Kurt Braunmüller, and Ernst Hakon Jahr, *The Nordic Languages. An International Handbook of the History of North Germanic Languages*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter,

ish music school was established in the 1500s and the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts in 1754; in Norway the Music Conservatory was not opened until 1875 and the Academy for Arts and Crafts in 1911.⁵⁴ Consequently, aspiring musicians and artists were forced to study abroad, most commonly in Denmark or Germany. With no governmental stipends available, education in the Fine Arts was limited to the wealthy few.

The long union with Denmark also starved Norway of cultural institutions. Unlike Copenhagen, which established the Royal Danish Orchestra in 1448, the Royal Museum around 1650, and the Royal Theater in 1748, Christiania's cultural institutions consisted of a drama society, founded in 1799, and a related music society, *the Music Lyceum*, founded in 1810, both amateur institutions. The new capital had neither an art museum nor concert hall, nor a professional theater or orchestra. The old Norwegian capital Bergen, on the west coast, with its large seaport, wealthy trading houses, and many German immigrants, was in 1814 larger and more urbane than Christiania. Bergen had established a small symphony orchestra in 1765 – one of the oldest orchestras in the world. Being cut off from eastern Norway in the winter, however, and remote from Sweden, the city was unfit as a capital.



The old Hanseatic town Bergen in the 15th century

The following chapters will show in detail how the new constitution and liberation from Denmark led to a surge in national identity and a renewed interest in Norwegian history, folklore, music, and sagas. Heidelberg Romanticism, aimed at awakening the national identity of a people, struck passionately with the Norwegian Nationalists, one of the two political fractions in Norway, who wanted to break the Norwegian ties to Denmark and retrieve their national roots. Through a growing number of writers, painters, and composers, folklore and landscapes were incorporated into literature and painting, while folk songs and fiddle music were collected and incorporated into art music. Norwegian nature was infused into poetry, painting, and song.⁵⁵ The result was a nationalistic and cultural blossoming in the fine and liberal arts without parallel in Norwegian history, and Norwegian National Romanticism, which had started as a movement among intellectuals, spread to the general population.⁵⁶

To summarize, Classicism and the rise of Romanticism and nationalism in central Europe

2005) 1515).

⁵⁴A drawing school, *Den foreløbige Tegneskole* [The preliminary Drawing School], was begun in 1818; however, a college for the arts it was not.

⁵⁵Herresthal 1993: 30-37; 78-90.

⁵⁶Ibid. 98-109.

and Norway was followed by unrest, wars, and treaties that changed the borders and rulers of European nations and states. Nationalism led to a cry for cultural identity, i.e., common roots with basis in language, myths, folktales and music, among people who had been forced into with countries with whom they had little in common. Nationalism combined with emerging Romanticism supported revolutionary trends in all the arts, including literature (the novel), visual arts (the landscape painting), and music (the Romantic *Lied*, character piece, and new symphonic forms). In this context, artists sought a new and higher status. Far from being regarded as mere servants in society, some even looked upon their work as potentially sublime, as a link between the earthly and heavenly realms.

Chapter 1

The Composer and the Poet

Des Dichters Worte, wie leuchten sie klar!
Doch was er selbst nicht geahnt, der andere vollbringt's.
Wo liegt der Ursprung?
Haben ihm die Worte die Melodie vorgesungen?
War diese schon harrend bereit, die Worte liebend zu umfassen?
Trägt die Sprache schon Gesang in sich, oder lebt der Ton erst getragen von ihr?
Eins ist im andern und will zum andern.
Musik weckt Gefühle, die drängen zum Worte.
Im Wort lebt ein Sehnen nach Klang und Musik.

The poets words, how brilliantly clear!
Yet, what was hidden from one, the other perfect
Where lies the source?
Was it through the words that he found his melody?
Has music been expectantly waiting, to lovingly embrace the words?
Is language the womb of song?
Or does music gather its lifeblood from words?
One lives in the other and seeks the other.
In music, emotions are yearning for language
In words lies a craving for sound and music.

Die Gräfin [The Countess] in the Terzett, Scene 6, of Richard Strauss, *Capriccio* (1933), libretto by Clemens Krauss based on Stefan Zweig.

Halfdan Kjerulf and Johan Sebastian Welhaven shared similar national and cultural backgrounds, both being born into conservative intellectual families of mainly Danish descent with strong ties to the arts and to Denmark. Their lives show various parallels. Kjerulf was the oldest of six and Welhaven had eight siblings; both were rushed by their fathers into unwanted professions which they quit after their fathers' premature deaths; for both, the loss of their fathers led to near financial ruin. The latter prevented them from marrying the women they loved, who for Welhaven was Kjerulf's only sister Ida. The two were students at the University of Christiania, where they belonged to the Conservative wing of the Student Union.

Both Kjerulf and Welhaven were exposed to their future fields early in life. For Kjerulf, the inspiration came from within the family, while Welhaven was mainly inspired by his school teacher, Lyder Sagen. Similarly, they shared a love for beauty, professionalism, and the educated. In promoting art, Kjerulf took on the role of music and theater critic, and Welhaven the role of literary and visual art critic. Both Kjerulf and Welhaven hated dilettantism and struggled for perfection in their own work and that of others. Visits to Paris, by Welhaven in 1836 and Kjerulf in 1840, exposed them to French culture and art, profoundly inspiring their careers. Though both talked warmly about a Scandinavian union on the cultural level, they firmly believed that Norway should be a free nation and govern its own affairs through the elected Norwegian parliament (*Storting*) without Swedish interference.

In personality, on the other hand, the two men differed profoundly. Kjerulf was sympathetic and unassuming, a modest man with refined looks. He fell easily in love, although primarily with unattainable women. He inherited his musical genes from his mother's family, but not her dominating personality, temperament, and often merciless soul. As a son he was kind and considerate; as a brother and friend he was compassionate and often witty. As a music critic he was fair and objective, although his tongue could be sharp. Like three of his younger siblings, he suffered from poor health from childhood. In addition, he displayed an almost paranoid shyness, and a pessimistic, often depressed nature. His low self esteem and fear of being a mere dilettante made composing an unending struggle for him.

Welhaven, on the other hand, was strong and dominating, a vivacious, witty, and arrogant man with eyes that seemed to pierce his audience, and a biting tongue which won him more enemies than friends. His personality was overwhelming. He moved like a gale through the environment spreading fear and admiration and was always the center of attention. To his own dismay, he was easily moved to tears and shy in the presence of women. The historian Henrik Jæger traces his composite nature to his family background: from his father's harmonious and mild-mannered nature, Welhaven inherited the seeds of his sympathies and ideals. From his mother's family – a family that included the playwright, poet, literary his-

torian, and critic Johan Heiberg, Welhaven's cousin once removed, and a person whom he admired from his childhood on – he inherited his literary talent, his belligerence, and his wit – in short, all the characteristics that turned him into a critic, polemicist, and satirist.¹ In addition, his sarcasm and sharp, even malicious characterizations of others, stemmed from his home town Bergen, where sarcasm was (and from my own experience, still is) part of the culture.²

Upbringing and education

Kjerulf was born in Christiania in 1815 into an art loving, highly musical family. In the nationalistic battle ensuing the Constitution of 1814, he was exposed to politics, the arts, and music from childhood. From a tender age, Kjerulf loved the arts, and theater and music in particular. His Danish father, Peder Kjerulf (né Kierulf), after finishing his law degree in Copenhagen, had been called to Norway and offered a high position within the new government by the first Norwegian prime minister, Count Wedel Jarlsberg.³ His mother, Betzy Lasson, who was also of Danish descent, belonged to one of the most musically gifted families in Christiania. Nearly every member of the Lasson family was involved in the arts, as were the families related to them by marriage. Betzy and two of her sisters, Kaja and Julie, were amateur singers and often performed in the various French *opéras comiques* staged by the Dramatic Society. Betzy's father, brother, and brother-in-law were also amateur musicians and played in the Society's orchestra.⁴

Christiania's foremost politicians and intelligentsia were part of the Kjerulf family social circle, and their festive events and dinners were accompanied by *Hausmusik*. As elsewhere in Europe among the upper classes, music was regarded as a crucial part of education. Showing an early musical talent, Kjerulf studied piano with the foremost teacher in Christiania, Oscar Wetterstrand, and wrote small piano pieces which he dedicated to family members and friends. His earliest compositions are dated 1829.⁵

Few details are known about Kjerulf's childhood and adolescence. He kept a diary most

¹Henrik Jæger, *Illustrert norsk litteraturhistorie* [Illustrated history of Norwegian literature], vol. 2 (Kristiania: Hjalmar Biglers Forlag, 1896) 133.

²In a letter to his Danish friend Christian Agerskov, Welhaven characterizes his enemies as “people with cod heads and ox heads and with dog heads, people with spikes and with claws and with shark teeth” [“Mennesker med Torskehoveder og Oxehoveder og med Hundehoveder, Mennesker med Pigger og med Klør og med Haitænder”] (WSV V: 59). Unless otherwise stated, all the translations from Norwegian are my own, and intentionally literal.

³Finn Benestad, Nils Grinde, and Harald Herresthal, “Halfdan Kjerulf,” *Norges Musikk Historie. Den Nasjonale Tone* [The Music History of Norway. The National Voice], vol. 2 (Oslo: Aschehoug, 2000) 301.

⁴Qvamme 1998: 7-12.

⁵Grinde 2003: 63.

of his life, and presumably did so during his school years, but only the one covering the first six months of 1833 – when he was 17 years old – remains extant. This diary records an impressive number of theater performances and concerts that he attended, as well as giving a first-hand account of a musical soirée at his uncle Peder Lassen’s house. The following excerpt illustrates the elaborate program of the soirée:

28. March, 1833: Musical soiree at the Lassons. Visiting performers were: the Thygeson family, Mrs. Hofgaard, Wiecke, Hagbart Falck and Wetterstrand.⁶ They gave: three excerpts from Lulu [opera by Friedrich Kuhlau], the overture from the before-mentioned performed by both Misses Thygeson, Hummel’s Trio (Ottília [Kjerulf’s aunt]), variations by Herz on the theme by Joseph, performed by Charlotte Thygeson. Duett from Robert le Diable [by Giacomo Meyerbeer, performed by Kjerulf’s cousins, Kaya and Julie Lassen], choir from Den Stumme i Portici [La muette de Portici by Daniel Auber], trio from Elisabeth [Elisabetta, Regina d’Inghilterra by Gioachino Rossini], trio from De to Dage [Les deux journées by Luigi Cherubini] and others.⁷

A similar program with some of the same performers was presented at the amateur musical society, the Lyceum, on 16. March.⁸

After graduating from high school in 1834, Kjerulf wanted to pursue a career as a composer. However, music was regarded as nothing more than a spare time activity for a member of the upper class. Much like Schumann, Kjerulf was forced by his father to study law, a field of no interest to him, and which he came to hate with a passion.⁹ Kjerulf’s self-pity and frustration with his situation, as well as his love of music, are evident in a letter written to his old acquaintance John Pe-



The Kjerulf family estate, *Bakkehuset*, in Christiania.

⁶According to Grinde, Wetterstrand was the only professional musician present (2003: 64).

⁷“28. mars, 1833: Musikalsk Soiree hos Lassons. Af fremmede Musicerende var: Thygesons Familie, Fru Hofgaard, Wiecke, Hagbart Falck og Wetterstrand. Der gaves: 3 Nummere af Lulu , Ouverturen til Samme udført af Begge Frøkner Thygeson, Hummels Trio (Ottília), Variationer af Herz paa et Thema af Joseph, udført af Charlotte Thygeson. Duett af Robert le Diable (Jfr. Lassen), Chor af Den Stumme i Portici, Terzett af Elisabeth, Terzett af De to Dage ofl.” (Grinde 2003: 64.)

⁸The Lyceum concerts were sometimes private and sometimes open to the public.

⁹Qvamme 1998: 15.

terssen (father of Eilif Peterssen, the painter of Edvard Grieg, Henrik Ibsen and others), in October 1838:

It is a somber, rather sad, modest individual who writes to you – a human being who half the time bewails the wrong path his life has taken, whose smile is often forced, and whose emotions are difficult to withhold. – I have become a student and *nichts weiter* [nothing more]. I am studying law and consider taking my law examination [graduating] in a year's time. Remote prospects, in particular since I study with profound reluctance. I have only one primary inclination – Art, Music; but the poor, wintry Norway cannot support this talent; there is still no greenhouse, and the wind from the north blows so bitterly cold that the fragile plant is suffocated at birth.¹⁰

While studying, Kjerulf worked for a while as a copyist in the state Department of Finance. In the summer of 1839, within a year of his graduation, he caught tuberculosis. After having regained his health somewhat during the following year, he went to Paris the next summer to recuperate further. He attended every opera and concert possible¹¹; he heard Hector Berlioz, with an orchestra of 130 musicians, conducting his “Herold [in Italy] and “Symphonie funèbre” ... “high-flying, wild compositions ... where the beautiful was mixed with the most bizarre ... his genius exuberating from every movement ... I could have gone through fire for that music!”¹² Kjerulf visited all the museums; he *loved* Versailles, and the Père Lachaise cemetery, saw every theater performance, and enjoyed life immensely. His six week stay in Paris resulted in his becoming more committed than ever to music.

Welhaven was born in 1807 in Bergen. He, too, developed a delight in the arts at a young age. He drew skillfully, and later was ambivalent about whether to become an artist or to study theology, which his father, himself a priest, urged him to do. Furthermore,

¹⁰“Det er en mørk, temmelig trist lidet Person som her skriver Dem til – et Menneske, som altid den halve Dag hos sig selv beklager en forfeilet Livsretning, og hvis Munterhed ofte er fremtvunget og hvis Luner lidet formaa at holde sig tilbage. – Jeg er bleven Student og nichts weiter. Jeg studerer Lovene og spekulerer paa om et Aars tid at tage Embedsexamen. Lange Udsigter, især da jeg studerer med en decideret Ulyst. Jeg har kun een Hovedtilbøielighed – Kunsten, Musiken; men det fattige, vinterkolde Norge kan ikke opelske dette talent; man har endnu intet Drivhus og Nordenvinden blæser saa skarpt, kvæler i Fødselen den zarte Plante!” (Benestad, Grinde, and Herresthal 2000: 302; Håndskriftsamlingen [The Letter Collection], Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo, Ms fol. 3579, in Grinde 2003: 66.)

¹¹Interestingly, Kjerulf mentions that the conductor Valentino insisted that his audience would sit quietly on their benches in the Salle Honoré and not talk during the performance of serious music (*Halfdan Kjerulf's Dagbøger* [Halfdan Kjerulf's [Diaries], Nils Grinde, Øyvind Norheim, Børre Qvamme, eds. (Oslo: Universitetsbiblioteket, 1990) 29].

¹²“høitflyvende, vilde Compositioner ... hvor det skønne var blandet med det aller Bizarreste ... hans Genius fremlyste af hver Sats ... jeg kunde gaaet i Ilden under slig Musik!” (ibid. 41.)

at the Bergen Cathedral School, his teacher Lyder Sagen, a philologist, instilled in him a deep-felt love for Greek Classicism. In a letter to the Danish professor Christian Molbech in 1840,¹³ Welhaven writes that, as a young adolescent, he felt so deeply about Homer's *Iliad* that he memorized parts of the books and recited them in class. At 14, he made a prosodic translation of the sixth book, which he found particularly fascinating.¹⁴ Furthermore, Sagen gave his students what Welhaven calls "a sharpened sense for poetry's chastity and purity,"¹⁵ characteristics that would become trademarks of his poetics.

Sagen also introduced his students to the works of Herder, Bouterwek, Lessing and Winkelmann. Welhaven writes that, "these lectures soon became as dear to me as my excursions and happiness in the open air."¹⁶ In addition, Sagen taught them rhetoric, which Welhaven also learned from his father. His father, Johan Ernst, the person whom Welhaven loved above all others, was a man of great oratorical skills. Growing up, Welhaven followed his father everywhere and heard all his sermons. Not surprisingly, he too became a brilliant orator, a skill that was among the deciding factors in his being hired as a lecturer in philosophy at the University in Christiania in 1840.¹⁷

Most importantly, Sagen introduced Welhaven to the Danish Romantic literary movement and Oehlenschläger, whom Sagen had met during his years in Copenhagen as a student and then teacher, and who had become Sagen's friend¹⁸ and favorite romantic poet.¹⁹ Oehlenschläger was widely read in Norway, and he soon became Welhaven's favorite too. Welhaven talked passionately about Oehlenschläger's importance for Nordic literature.²⁰ In a small poem dedicated to the Danish poet, he writes:²¹

Hver Dansk og Norsk,	Every Dane and Norwegian,
der har en Blomsterhave,	who has a Flower Garden,
har hentet Frø,	has collected Seeds,
hvor dine Roser gløde.	where your Roses glow.

¹³WSV V: 123.

¹⁴"Homer blev mig saa kjær i min skolegang, at jeg lærte mange af hans smukkeste Episoder udenad og udarbejdede en metrisk Oversættelse af Illiadens 6te Bog, der især forekom mig tiltrækkende" (WSV V: 123).

¹⁵"en skjærpet Sands for Digtekunstens Kydskhed og Renhed" (WSV III: 304).

¹⁶"disse Foredrag vare mig snart ligesaa kjære som mine Exkursioner og Glæde i det Frie" (WSV V: 123).

¹⁷The Danish poet Christian Winther once remarked to Welhaven's nephew Ernst Sars that if his uncle had written as well as he spoke, he would have been one of the greatest writers of his time (Tore Vassdal, *Bastian* (Bergen: Sigma, 2006) 30).

¹⁸Ibid. 2006: 177.

¹⁹Løchen 1900: 28.

²⁰Ibid. Appendix IV.

²¹WSV I: 104.

Welhaven was introduced to Oehlenschläger during the latter's visit to Christiania in 1833. However, on that occasion he insulted the poet with one of his witty bits of Bergenesque sarcasm, with the consequence that Oehlenschläger refused to see him any more. At their next encounter, Welhaven managed to assuage the poet by writing a poem in his honor, and was forgiven.²² Welhaven's indiscretion, despite his genuine admiration for Oehlenschläger, as well his sarcastic remarks to many other dignitaries whom he respected, reveals his lack of social skills. He was never able to adjust his behavior to his environment, or to judge how his sarcasm and wit affected other people.



The house where Welhaven first roomed in Christiania.

Welhaven finished his schooling in Bergen with miserable grades in all subjects except philosophy, in which he excelled, graduating *laudabilis prae ceteris*. He wanted to study painting, but owing to a lack of encouragement from Norway's most famous painter at the time, Johan Christian Dahl, Welhaven decided to comply with his father's wish, and began studying theology under his father's tutelage in Bergen. He also practiced preaching in his father's churches, the only part of the studies he enjoyed.²³ His younger, much beloved sister Maren said that her brother began his first sermon by reciting a poem.²⁴ Much to the devastation of the family and parish, the older Welhaven died the same year, and his son had to transfer to the University in Christiania. Making matters worse, he had no support from home, since his mother was left with a minimal income and eight children to support.

Between 1828 and 1838, Welhaven lived a destitute life in the capital. He could not afford to dress and eat properly. While studying at the University, he supported himself by working as a private teacher and by making drawings and lithographs. Fortunately, a small number of close friends from Bergen shared their food with him, invited him to their houses, and took him along on trips. In addition, friends of his father's living in Christiania cared for him over the holidays, and the Danish-Norwegian publisher and bookseller, his future publisher, Johan Fjeldsted Dahl, provided him with small loans.²⁵

For Welhaven, as well as for Kjerulf, the University had one redeeming feature, *Studenter-samfundet* [the Student Union], a forum for students and teachers alike. The Student Union was also the main forum for political debate and was split into two wings, the Conser-

²²Seip "Johan Sebastian Welhaven – en 'danoman' i København" [Johan Sebastian Welhaven – a 'Danophile' in Copenhagen], in *Norgesbilleder: Dansk-norske forbindelser 1700-1905* [In Pictures from Norway: Danish-Norwegian Relations 1700-1905], Mette Skougaard, ed. (København: Gad, 2004) 229.

²³Løchen 1900: 55, 60; Halvorsen 1908: 326.

²⁴Ibid. 54.

²⁵See letters 6, 8, 9, and 14-17 in WSV V.

vatives (often called the *Intelligentsia* or *Danophiles*), to which Welhaven, and later Kjerulf, belonged, and the Nationalists. The latter, seen through the eyes of the Conservatives, represented the raw, unrefined, and uncultivated in Norwegian society. Passionate and eloquent, Welhaven was soon elected leader of the Conservative wing of the Student Union.

The leader of the Nationalist wing was the poet Henrik Wergeland, a Jena Romantic and a nonconformist theology student with passionate and subjective writing style. The objective and classically trained Welhaven detested Wergeland's poetics, which motivated him to condemn it in two publications: his first printed poem, *For Henrik Wergeland!*, published anonymously in the radical newspaper *Morgenbladet* in August of 1830, and, later his pamphlet *Henrik Wergelands Digtekunst og Polemik* [Henrik Wergeland's Poetics and Polemics] published under his name in 1832. Both were fierce critiques of Wergeland's large, cosmopolitan poem *The Creation, Man, and Messiah*, which by unfortunate happenstance appeared with Welhaven's illustration on the front cover!

As early as 1828, Welhaven gravitated towards the Student Union's literary circle, where the members discussed European literature in general, e.g., the correspondence between Goethe and Schiller, and Danish literature in particular. They subscribed to the new Danish newsletter on literature and literary criticism, *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post* [The Copenhagen flying Newsletter], whose owner and editor-in-chief was Johan Heiberg.²⁶ Through his newsletter and aesthetics, Heiberg, Welhaven's admired cousin, became (as detailed in the next chapter) a powerful intellectual influence on the future poet. By 1829, Welhaven had become the literary spirit and the elected leader of the literary circle.

Beginning in the 1830s, the Student Union members, mainly the Nationalists, adopted the German habit of drinking punch at the meetings, resulting in a surge in student arrests for public drunkenness.²⁷ In 1832, some of its members were involved in immoral conduct – presumably visiting a brothel – but were not expelled from the Union. As a consequence, more than 50 members, including Welhaven and his three closest friends, Anton Martin



Title page of Wergeland's *Creation, Man, and Messiah*, drawing by Welhaven.

²⁶Løchen 1900: 73.

²⁷Surprisingly, 50 percent of those arrested were theology students (Handagard 1926: 36).

Schweigaard, Bernhard Dunker, and Peter Andreas Munch,²⁸ left the Union and created *Det norske Studenterforbund* [*The Norwegian Student Society*]. Before long, *Forbundet* [The Society] as it was called, founded the literary magazine *Vidar*²⁹ with Welhaven as one of its editors. The magazine, modeled on *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post*, had the main incentive of providing modern objective literary criticism in Heiberg's style. Welhaven, who still looked upon himself more as a critic than a poet, was eager to edit and contribute to the magazine.³⁰



Johan Heiberg.

Around this time, Welhaven began writing his large poem *Norges Dæmring* [*Norway's Dawn*], in response to what he sensed was a debasement of the young Norwegian nation. In 76 sonnets, he attacked the rawness and diletantism that he found still prominent in the Norwegian society, in particular the country's lack of refinement and culture. He further attacked the strong adversity among a large segment of the population towards foreign influences, mainly from Denmark.³¹ In an earlier poem, *Theatret* [The Theater], in 1832, Welhaven had argued that³²

Hvad Kunsten bringer os fra fremmed Strand,
 bør Norges Sønner vide klogt at nytte
 og varligen det ædle Frøe beskytte,
 til smukt det spirer i vort Klippeland.

What Art brings us from foreign Shore,
 the Sons of Norway ought to utilize skillfully
 and carefully protect the noble Seed,
 until it beautifully sprouts in our rocky Country.

In *Norges Dæmring* he asserts that having won political freedom at home, Norway must now find its inner or cultural freedom, which it had lost while lying dormant under 400 years of Danish rule.³³

²⁸Anton Martin Schweigaard (1808-1870), Professor of Law and Economics, member of the Norwegian Parliament; Bernhard Dunker (1809-1870) Attorney General of Norway; and Peter Andreas Munch (1808-1884), lawyer, Norway's first Prime Minister.

²⁹The name is taken from Norse mythology, where Vidar, the son of Odin, kills the monster Fenrisulven (here Wergeland) during Ragnarok – the end of the world (the German Götterdämmerung) in Nordic mythology.

³⁰Trygve Knudsen, *J. S. Welhaven* (Oslo: Cappelen, 1955) 81.

³¹The sonnet, 14 lines with different rhyme scheme, was often used in polemic writing, e.g., Schlegel and his followers' "Sonettenkriege" (Hauge in WSV I: 319).

³²WSV I: 33.

³³Ibid. 63-100.

Norges Dæmring was published on Oehlenschläger's 55th birthday, 11 November 1834 by Dahl, who, in a letter to the poet seven weeks later, calls *Norges Dæmring* "the first real Norwegian poem in this country."³⁴ Oehlenschläger, for his part, found the poem too polemical.³⁵ By now Welhaven had moved away from theology, and devoted all his time to literary criticism and polemics. He confides to Dahl, in a letter in April of that year, that he found himself "in a study which in many ways was even disgusting to me,"³⁶ and decided to quit theology altogether.³⁷

Norges Dæmring provoked a vicious public debate that lasted for more than two years. Welhaven was looked upon by many, including some of his old protagonists, as an enemy of the people, and his book was burned in public fires. In the years following its release, Welhaven was the most hated man in Norway.

Kjerulf stood firmly on Welhaven's side during what became known as "*Dæmringsstriden*" ["The Dawn Stride"]. They probably met in *The Society*, where the eight-year older Welhaven was regarded the "principal orator, the best poet and the greatest genius, a man of priceless wit,"³⁸ by its member students. According to the Norwegian poet Nils Collett Vogt, the insecure, introverted Kjerulf admired the arrogant, extroverted Welhaven beyond words: "Kjerulf bonded passionately with Welhaven, whom he in his youth loves and looks to with a passion that is close to awe, yes, worship."³⁹ Kjerulf further shared Welhaven's contempt for Wergeland's poetics. In a letter to John Peterssen he writes that "Wergeland is the only one who defends 'Naturdigtekunsten,' [which Kjerulf and his contemporaries equate with someone who does not follow poetic norms and rules] and therefore this man's poetical life is a total failure."⁴⁰ (During a theater performance of Henrik Wergeland's play *Campellerne*, his antagonists, including Welhaven, Kjerulf, and his father, started to hiss, with the result that a fight broke out, and Kjerulf was hit hard on the nose.⁴¹) In 1844, when Kjerulf learned that Wergeland was dying, he writes to his brother Hjalmar: "And let him disappear! He has abused his great talents and he has ruined the name of an honest man"⁴² (Welhaven, one must presume).

³⁴Halvorsen 1908: 333.

³⁵Hauge, WSV I: 319.

³⁶"i et Studium som i mange Hensender endog var mig modbydeligt" (WSV V: 36).

³⁷Løchen 1900: 165.

³⁸Løchen 1900: 74.

³⁹"Kjerulf sluttet sig lidenskabelig og tæt til Welhaven, hvem han i de unge aar elsker og ser op til med en følelse som ikke er langt fra ærefrygt, ja, tilbedelse" (Nils Collett Vogt, *Samtiden*, 1918: 591).

⁴⁰"Det er bare Wergeland der forsvaret Naturdigterkunsten, og derfor er hele denne Mands Digterliv totalt forfeilet" (Håndskriftsamlingen [The Letter Collection], Ms fol. 3579, Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo).

⁴¹Grinde 2003: 65.

⁴²"Og la ham forsvinde! Han har misbrugt sine store Anlæg og han har forskjertset Navnet af en hæderlig Mand" (Wladimar Moe, ed., *Halfdan Kjerulf: av hans Efterlatte Papirer* [Halfdan Kjerulf: from his Posthu-

In 1835, Welhaven's best friend Bernhard Dunker invited him to spend a month in Copenhagen. On this trip Welhaven was a frequent guest at the house of Heiberg and his wife, the famous actress Johanne Luise Heiberg.⁴³ He also went nearly daily to the Copenhagen Student Union, where he talked to, among others, the poet Christian Winther,⁴⁴ who later became a dear friend, and the writer Henrik Hertz.⁴⁵ Although Welhaven insulted a number of people with what Halvorsen calls his "Norwegian impertinence,"⁴⁶ Welhaven, oblivious to the stir he caused, thoroughly enjoyed himself in Copenhagen.⁴⁷ He even wrote to Camilla Collett, his lady friend at the time, how much he was adored there, using the Danish idiom, "in Copenhagen they have carried me on their hands,"⁴⁸

In the spring of 1836, Welhaven's friend Ole Falk Ebbell invited him to Paris. They walked in the Luxembourg Gardens, visited entertainment pavilions and cafés in the Latin Quarter, went to theaters and galleries, and read new French literature, which much enthused Welhaven: "The modern French literature has in its varied descriptions of human life a quality of a previously unattained vigor and truth," he writes in his *Sketches from France*.⁴⁹ The city was an inspiration to him, as it would be to Kjerulf four years later. One of Welhaven's most cited poems, *The Republicans*, a sketch from a French café, was written after his return from Paris.

In Christiania the following spring, Welhaven invited "To a Series of Lectures on the Literary History of our Language,"⁵⁰ in which he emphasized the Norwegian contribution to the Danish-Norwegian literary tradition. The lectures, held at the Hotel du Nord, were a rave success, with packed audiences, who described them in glowing terms like, "deep, clear, lively and fascinating," and "rousing, verbal fireworks, brilliant and interesting."⁵¹ Kjerulf was also full of praise for these lectures.⁵² Løchen writes that the lectures were attended by Christiania's most distinguished [male] audience, many of whom brought their wives, since

mous Papers], vol. I (Kristiania: J. Dybwad, 1917) 37).

⁴³Strangely however, Welhaven does not refer to any of these visits in his writings. By contrast, Kjerulf visited Heiberg and his wife in 1850, and writes glowingly about the evening, see below.

⁴⁴One of the first poems Kjerulf set to music was Christian Winther's *Min Skat* [My Sweetheart].

⁴⁵Henrik Hertz was the author of the widely popular *Gjengangerbreve* [Letters of a Ghost].

⁴⁶Halvorsen writes that during this period Welhaven was not pleasant, but extremely "Norwegian impertinent" (his Bergen character asserting itself), insulting people left and right, so much that his friend Christian Agerskov had to look after him constantly when he was not with Dunker (Halvorsen 1908: 335).

⁴⁷Letter to Orla Lehmann (WSV V: 56).

⁴⁸"I Kjøbenhavn har man baaret mig paa Hændere" (WSV V: 51).

⁴⁹"Den nyere franske Literatur har i sine mangeartede Skildringer af Menneskelivet et Præg af en hidtil uopnaaet Friskhed og Sandhed" (WSV III: 228).

⁵⁰"Til en Cylcus af Forelæsninger over vort Sprogs skjønnne Literaturs Historie" (ibid. 272-273). In 1831, Heiberg had issued a textbook with a similar name, *Udsigt over den danske skjønnne Literatur* [Review of the Danish Literature], which Welhaven had read (WSV IV: 508).

⁵¹Halvorsen 1908: 337.

⁵²Kjerulf refers to these lectures in a letter to his brother Hjalmar in 1845 (Moe 1917: 103).

family members were included in the subscription.⁵³ This was quite uncommon at the time, and led the conservative newspaper, *Den Constitutionelle*, to remark that “Hereby, a giant leap into male territory has been made, for which the ladies alone have the credit, and with the help of which they will in short time have won themselves even more benefits.”⁵⁴

Women

Women often exert strong influence on male artists, famously inspiring them to create masterpieces, e.g., the Petrarch sonnets for Laura de Noves and Berlioz’ *Symphonie Fantastique* written during his infatuation with Harriet Smithson. While Kjerulf’s encounters with love had no known influence on his career as a composer, Welhaven’s traumatic and deep emotional experiences became instrumental in his development as a poet.

Welhaven’s first infatuation was with none other than Camilla Wergeland, Henrik Wergeland’s sister, whom he met around 1830. Despite her brother’s strong focus on nationalism and insistence that the Norwegians should revert to their national roots, Camilla was in deep agreement with Welhaven’s ideas about how the Norwegian society ought to develop after freedom from Danish rule: it should preserve and cultivate the good in the Danish-European tradition, and discard the bad. Both overwhelmingly shy, three years passed before they had their first serious conversation – on “the delicate subject of women’s relationship to men, and whether one could argue for the latter’s intellectual superiority.”⁵⁵ They further discussed what would constitute a transgression of female decency, with Camilla thoroughly shocking him by revealing that she had walked on stilts.⁵⁶



Camilla Wergeland,
painted in 1833

Both loved the natural and detested the affected and artificial, which they saw, for instance, in the aspirations of the upper classes to copy Northern European home decor, house concerts, soirées, and balls, at which the ladies – according to Welhaven – looked like wandering flowerpots with their hair decorated with roses and lilies; and the men – “half

⁵³Løchen 1900: 304.

⁵⁴“Herved er gjort et stort Skridt ind paa Herrernes Territorium, for hvilket Damerne allene tilkomme Hæderen, og ved Hjælp av hvilket de om litt Tid vil have tilkjæmpet seg endnu flere Fordele” (12. Juni, 1837. No. 163).

⁵⁵“det delicate Emne om Qvindens Forhold til Manden, hvorvidt man tør Paastaae denne Sidstes intellectuelle Fortin” (Elisabeth Møller Jensen, *Emancipation som Lidenskab* [Emancipation as Passion] (Charlottenlund: Rosinante, 1987) 21).

⁵⁶Ibid. 20-21.

bullies, half shy, half rude still, and half blasé”⁵⁷ – behaved as if they had been hired by a dancing-master to perform their duties.⁵⁸



Camilla Wergeland, in
Welhaven’s illustration of his
poem *Soiree-Billeder*

The sexual attraction Welhaven felt towards Camilla scared him profoundly. In his opinion, marriage should be built on the beautiful, not on a dangerous and despicable passion.⁵⁹ Their relationship was never a peaceful one. They were always measuring individual strength; when she approached him, he withdrew from her, and *vice versa*. When he ultimately broke up with her, she was devastated. Welhaven was the love of her life, and she never stopped loving him despite the fact that she married his friend Peter Jonas Collett with whom she had four children. As Camilla Collett, she became one of Norway’s first female authors. Her novel, *The District Governor’s Daughters*, still in print today, is to a large extent autobiographical. In this book, Collett uses the character Kolb – Welhaven’s *alter ego* – to express quite unrealistically her own opinion about the relationship between Wergeland and Welhaven: “I often thought, why this bitter feud between these two who should be more inclined to form a union – and here I had Goethe and

Schiller’s relationship in mind⁶⁰ – and aim to complete, not to demolish each other?”⁶¹

At 28, Welhaven met Kjerulf’s only sister Ida and fell madly in love with her, a delicate situation, since she was also a friend of Camilla’s. Their intense platonic love lasted from the spring of 1837 until Ida’s death three and a half years later.⁶² Ida’s parents, her mother Betzy in particular, strongly opposed the liaison. A poet without a secure position and income was out of the question as a spouse for her only daughter. Consequently, when Ida informed her mother that she had become secretly engaged to Welhaven and wanted to marry him, her mother snapped, “That will never happen,” and made her frail daughter promise never to

⁵⁷ “halv brutale, halv generte, halv raa endnu, og halv blaserte.” From *Soiree-Billeder* (WSV II: 67).

⁵⁸ WSV III: 199.

⁵⁹ Per Saugstad. *J. S. Welhaven: en idealenes vokter* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1967) 63-64.

⁶⁰ Recent research has shown that Goethe and Schiller’s relationship was more tensional than had been recognized (William Kinderman, private communication). See Rüdiger Safranski, *Goethe und Schiller. Geschichte einer Freundschaft*, München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 2009.

⁶¹ “Hvorfor, tenkte jeg mangen gang, hvorfor dette bitre fiendskap mellom disse to, der syntes mere bestemt – jeg måtte her tenke på *Goethes* og *Schillers* forhold – til selv å danne et forbund – bestemt til å fullstendig gjøre, men ikke tilintetgjøre hinannen?” (Camilla Collett, *Amtmandens Døttre* [The District Governor’s Daughter], 9th ed. (Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1946) 35.)

⁶² Ida, as well as three of her five brothers, suffered from tuberculosis. Ida died in 1840, Regnald in 1841, and Hjalmar in 1846, all in their twenties. Halfdan died in 1868, at age 53.



The young Ida Kjerulf and Johan Sebastian Welhaven

see him again.⁶³ Even Kjerulf, who loved his sister deeply and placed Welhaven above most men, sided with his mighty mama in opposing the relationship. Heartbroken, Ida writes to her beloved: “It is not out of weakness – but I am forced to *choose* between you and – mother – a horrendous choice.”⁶⁴



Ida between her mother and father. Drawing by Ida’s brother Hjalmar.

Ida’s health soon deteriorated quickly. The family crisis brought on by her love for Welhaven was worse than her bodily suffering. In a desperate letter to Kjerulf in the summer of 1839, she writes, “I have suffered and still suffer from various pains, but the greatest is the one that my wishes differ so profoundly from yours, that they tear you away from me. But could you not, my dear brother, love me, even though you criticize me and complain about me? I find it such a cruel destiny to lose your love, just because I find happiness where you find quite the contrary!”⁶⁵

In the summer of 1840, upon her doctor’s advice, the lovers were allowed to see each other. Welhaven writes to his mother: “This summer my beloved Ida was dangerously ill, and she was close to death. One had to grant me permission to see her. It was a painful meeting. Now she is feeling better and I am daily

⁶³Løcken 1900: 364.

⁶⁴“Det er ikke af Svaghed – men jeg maa *vælge* mellem Dem og – Moder – et grusomt Valg” (Mohr 1945: 78). Welhaven and Ida mainly use the plural form “Sie” when they write to each other, as in “Dem” in the previous sentence.

⁶⁵“Jeg har havt og har mangeslags lidelser, men den største bliver bestandig den, at mine Ønsker stride saa aldeles mod Eders, at de fjerne Eder fra mig. Men skulde Du, min kjære Broder, da ikke kunne holde af mig, skjønt du dadler – og beklager mig? Jeg synes det er saa haard en Skjæbne, at jeg skulde tabe Eders Kjærlighed, fordi jeg er saa uheldig kun at søge Lykke i hvad I finde ganske det Modsatte!” (Moe 1917: 16.)

by her side.”⁶⁶ Their engagement was finally accepted, but Ida was now beyond recovery. She died in December with her fiancé by her side.⁶⁷ Welhaven, devastated by grief and afraid of revealing his emotions in public, did not attend her funeral.

Starting during their courtship and continuing well after her death, Welhaven wrote many poems about Ida, some of which he included in his first and second collections of poems. Obsessed with “objectivity,” he never mentions her name in the poems. Although reality told him that Ida was dead and that he should try to put her death behind him, Welhaven took the opposite approach, wanting to *live* with the dead. Only continued worship of his lost beloved gave him peace. His most famous Ida poem, *Den Salige* [The Blessed] was written more than five years after her death and after he had married. Kjerulf would later set a number of the “Ida poems” to music. Chapter 3 discusses the Ida poems and Kjerulf’s settings of them in detail.

In addition to writing poems about Ida, Welhaven wrote her letters filled with anger, desperation, tenderness, and love. In them he removes the armor that his nephew Ernst and Camilla always saw him wearing to protect his vulnerable soul,⁶⁸ and reveals his sensitive, soft-hearted yet self-centered nature. In November 1839, he asks if Ida had talked to her mother recently about their relationship, continuing that he had never seen a person with a face “so strangely clouded” as that of her mother. Cutting to the core of Betzy’s character, he writes that, “In her features is incised a disjunct poem; a happiness that has never been clear; a pain without reconciliation; a bittersweet longing, without direction, quelled by thousands of small hindrances.”⁶⁹

Two days later, in one of his most beautiful and heartfelt letters to Ida, Welhaven writes:

There is a memory from my childhood that I now often call to mind. My father was often plagued by headache; he often did not quite know what to do. I loved him as dearly as a child’s soul can love. Once I told him: when you are

⁶⁶“I Sommer blev min trofaste Ida farlig syg, og hun har været Døden nær. Da maatte man finde sig i at tilstede mig Adgang til hende. Det var et smerteligt Møde. Hun er nu bedre og jeg er daglig ved hendes Side” (Mohr 1945: 160).

⁶⁷Moe 1917: 18.

⁶⁸Camilla Collett, *Breve fra ungdomsårene* [Letters from my youth] (Oslo: Gyldendahl Norsk Forlag, 1930) 52; Johan Ernst Sars, *Samlede Værker, Fjerde Bind* [Collected Works, vol. 4] (Kristiania: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag, 1912) 147.

⁶⁹“I disse Træk er der indgravet et usammenhængende Digt; en Glæde, der aldrig har været klar; en Smerte uden Forsoning; en bittersød Higen, uden Retning, kvalt af tusinde, smaalige hindringer” (WSV V: 115). Betzy Lassen had married solely to escape her father, the strict Niels Quist Lassen, and his house. Lassen had divorced his wife Barbara four years earlier, forcing her to move out of the house and denying her access to her children. Betzy, the oldest of eight, found herself in charge of the household, and, when Peder Kjerulf asked for the hand in marriage of one the Lassen girls, Betzy “volunteered” (Harriet Hansson, *Brever fra min grandtante frøken Julie Lassen til Halfdan Kjerulf* [Letters from my great Aunt Miss Julie Lassen to Halfdan Kjerulf] (Oslo: Storebrands Hustrykkeri, 1962) 6).

ill, father, I will sing to you all the songs you have taught me, and read to you by heart all what I know, and if you cannot stand it, then I will sit down in the corner of the sofa, and you may well put your head in my lap; and I will be completely silent even if it were for a whole day and a night; but if you don't want this either, then I will lie down next to you and become even sicker than you, and might even die." My father caressed me and kissed me and started to cry, and really recovered on that occasion. Now I know far better songs, and I have learned more by heart since that time, and during long days and nights I have suffered far greater pain hidden next to my heart, and Ida, I love you a thousand times more than I ever have loved my father.⁷⁰

Following the senior Peder Kjerulf's death in February of 1841, and the younger brother Regnald's that May, Welhaven moved into the Kjerulf residence for several years. He transferred his love for his dead fiancée to her younger brother Hjalmar, a painter whom Welhaven encouraged and helped until Hjalmar's own premature death in 1847. Welhaven's letters to Hjalmar are almost as love-laden as his letters to Ida.

Unlike Welhaven, Kjerulf tended to fall in love with women who were mostly unattainable. In a letter to an old friend in 1839, he writes: "I have a lot of acquaintances, even among the ladies several, who could make my blood boil and give my dreams wings!"⁷¹ Who these blood-boilers were is not clear. Both Qvamme and Grinde mention that he fell in love with the Danish actress Betty Smidth, who was performing at Christiania Theater from 1836 onwards,⁷² and during his visit to Paris in the summer of 1840, he fell in love, "alas! – more in love than ever before –" with the French actress Anna Thillon, whom he went to see twice in Auber's *La Neige*, and whom he had to see "a thousand times to get enough of her," continuing, "[she] was more beautiful than the sun itself; for the sun has spots – she has none."⁷³

⁷⁰Der er en Erindring fra min Barndom, som jeg nu ofte tilbagekalder mig. Min Fader var meget martret af Hovedpine; han vidste ofte aldeles ikke at hjælpe sig. Jeg elskede ham saa høit som en Barnesjæl kan elske. Engang sagde jeg: Naar du er syg Fader, vil jeg synge for dig alle de Viser du har lært mig, og læse udenad for dig Alt hvad jeg kan, og hvis du ikke taaler dette, da vil jeg sætte mig i Hjørnet af Sophaen, og du maa gjerne lægge dit Hoved i mit Skjød; jeg vil være ganske rolig om det saa var en heel Dag og en Nat; men hvis du heller ikke vil dette, da lægger jeg mig hen ved Siden af dig og bliver sygere end du, og kan gjerne døe deraf." Min Fader omfavnede mig og kyssede mig og kom til at græde, og blev virkelig frisk for den Gang. Nu kan jeg langt bedre Viser, og jeg har lært meget udenad siden den Tid, og i lange Dage og Nætter har jeg havt langt værre Smerter gjemte ved mit Hjerte, og Ida, jeg elsker dig tusinde Gange høiere end jeg nogensidne har elsket min Fader (WSV V: 116).

⁷¹"Jeg har mange Bekjendtskabe, endogsaa blandt Damerne Flere, der kunne sætte Blodet i kog og give mine Drømme vinge!" (Håndskriftsamlingen, Nasjonalbiblioteket i Oslo, Ms fol. 3579.)

⁷²Qvamme 1998: 109; Grinde 2003: 82.

⁷³"og hun var skjønnere enn Solen selv; thi Solen har jo Pletter – hun har ingen" (Grinde 1990: 42, 48).

In 1843, Kjerulf met the Danish-German pianist Amalie Reiffel who impressed him deeply with her beautiful piano playing. They met on and off during her many visits to Christiania between 1843 and 1847, and Kjerulf regularly attended her small Wednesday night house concerts, when she, as he says in a letter to her, filled his head with such refreshing performances of Chopin, Mendelssohn, and Schumann that he could barely sleep because the music kept running through his inner ear all night.⁷⁴ Kjerulf dedicated his setting of Heiberg's *Barcarole* to her; it is not clear whether he had any deeper feelings for her.



The French actress Anna Thillon.

Two years later, Kjerulf fell seriously in love with one of his very talented piano students, Marie Garben. He commented in August to his brother Hjalmar about Hjalmar's many girlfriends, "One of the newest writers has said: 'The presence of a young lady is a great solace, without which one does not feel completely at ease.' Happy is the one who, like a butterfly, can flit from flower to flower ... meet a youthful girl with wonderful eyes and beautiful hair, a rare loving disposition, a particularly amiable person, whom one in one's mind chooses as one's bride!," adding as a postscript, "I have made a lady's acquaintance. 'The presence of a young lady etc.'" The girl was Marie Garben, who, according to Wladimar Moe, was not pretty, but lively and decent.⁷⁵ Turning Heiberg's *Barcarole* into a piano piece, he now dedicated it to Marie. In addition, he dedicated thirteen other pieces of music to her, including his setting of Welhaven's *Vaarnat* [A Spring Night], written in memory of Ida.

Kjerulf apparently wanted to marry Marie; however, her parents, and mother in particular, were against the liaison on account of Kjerulf's low income as a music teacher, a reaction similar to that of Kjerulf's own mother's to Welhaven. After Kjerulf's return from Germany in 1851, they continued their relationship; Grinde speculates that they might have been secretly engaged in 1853, owing to Kjerulf's dedicating three of his very few deeply passionate romances to her: *Täuschung* [Deception] a setting of a poem by Karl Beck; *Kommen und*

⁷⁴Grinde 2003: 84.

⁷⁵"En af de nyeste Forfattere har sagt: 'En ung Piges Nærværelse er en stor Lise, og uden den føler men sig ikke fuldkommen vel' – Lykkelig den der som en Sommerfugl kan flagre fra Blomst til Blomst,... træffer et ungdomsfriskt Pigeansigt med deilige Øine og fagert Haar, et sødt, behageligt Væsen, et sjældent elskværdigt Menneske, som man i Tankerne utkaarer til sin Brud! ... PS. Et damebekjendtskab har jeg dog gjort. 'En ung piges nærværelse o.s.v.'" (Wladimar Moe, ed., *Halfdan Kjerulf: av hans Efterlatte Papirer* [Halfdan Kjerulf: from his Posthumous Papers], vol. I (Kristiania: J. Dybwad, 1917) 109.)

Scheiden [Arriving and Departing], a setting of a poem by N. Lenau, earlier set by Robert Schumann⁷⁶ in 1850, as well as by Fanny Mendelssohn; and *Længselens Vee* [Longing's Anguish], the latter set to his brother Theodor's poem *Længsel* [Longing]. Kjerulf introduced Marie to his mother, who willingly accepted her, the daughter of a general, as her son's wife. Although the details are lost owing to the disappearance of Kjerulf's dairy from 1853,⁷⁷ a misunderstanding involving Marie's mother and possibly Kjerulf's best friend, Hans Gude, ruined their relationship. Both Kjerulf and Marie Garben remained unmarried.⁷⁸

Poetry and music

As Welhaven's emotional life developed, his poetics slowly changed from polemics to expressions of introverted peace.⁷⁹ As Welhaven began to use nature as a metaphor for his inner feelings, Hauge claims that his texts became musical owing to the poet's description of poetry as consisting of two forces, one musical, rhythm, and one plastic, form, and that these forces, in an inexplicable way, move the sentiments and the imagination.⁸⁰ Welhaven, from 1840 onwards, would develop into the foremost Norwegian poet in the Danish romantic tradition. To Kjerulf, Welhaven's poems *were* music.⁸¹ From his first attempts at writing songs, in 1835, he would, inspired by Welhaven's poetry, become Scandinavia's foremost composer of Romantic *Lieder*.



Marie Garben in later years, as a lady-in-waiting for the Queen.

In 1835, a year after the publication of *Norges Dæmring*, Welhaven writes in a letter to his Danish friend Agerskov that, “in the spring I will have milder things printed.”⁸² These “milder things,” many written after his return from Paris in the fall of 1836, were not published until December 1838, on the poet's 31st birthday, in his first collection of poems, *Digte* [Poems].⁸³ After its publication, Welhaven sent a copy to the Danish poet Bernhard Severin Ingemann saying that, “My poems, which I sent you as a memento, have undoubtedly shown to you a softer poetic

⁷⁶His Opus 90, No. 3.

⁷⁷Kjerulf's sister-in-law destroyed the dairy after his death.

⁷⁸Grinde 2003: 138-142; Qvamme 1998: 40-42.

⁷⁹Hauge in *Norges Litteraturhistorie*, 1995: 303.

⁸⁰WSV IV: 420.

⁸¹Kjerulf writes that Welhaven's poems “set his harp in motion” (Wladimar Moe, ed., *Halfdan Kjerulf: av hans Efterlatte Papirer* [Halfdan Kjerulf: from his Posthumous Papers], vol. II (Kristiania: J. Dybwad, 1918) 123).

⁸²“til Vaaren lader jeg dog blidere Sager trykke” (WVS V: 61).

⁸³*Digte* was also the title of Oehlenschläger's first poetry collection.

disposition than you had expected to find in me; however, I find that these poems' greatest value is that they advocate who I sincerely am."⁸⁴

The critics praised *Digte* as the first Norwegian poems written in the new Danish romantic tradition.⁸⁵ The poet Andreas Munch, the editor of the conservative Christiania newspaper *Den Constitutionelle* (started by Johan Dahl in 1836 with three of Welhaven's best friends as editors) writes that, "The best poems in this collection fell like dewdrops, one by one, in the souls of his fellow countrymen, and melted many of the prejudices and much of the hatred, and softened the difficult notion that Welhaven, although he was the author of *Norges Dæmring*, or rather exactly because of that, could be a nationalistic poet."⁸⁶

Løchen writes that Welhaven, who in his first period as a poet had been as Danish as a Norwegian possibly could be, started using many Norwegian words in his poetry: "The growth in Welhaven's national sentiment shows itself through his language becoming more Norwegian. ... In his second period, from the 1840s onward, ... the sensitive artist picks up many beautiful words from the vernacular."⁸⁷

In 1844, Welhaven published his second poetry collection, *Nyere Digte* [Newer Poems], which was received with even higher acclaim than the first. Once again released on Oehlen-schläger's birthday, *Nyere Digte* marked the zenith of Welhaven's National Romantic oeuvre. After its publication in Denmark, *Kjøbenhavnsposten* [The Copenhagen Post] wrote: "Welhavens latest poem collection belongs to the most pre-eminent of what today's Danish-Norwegian literature has to offer."⁸⁸ Still living in the Kjerulf household, Welhaven dedicated his new collection to Ida's brother Hjalmar, who had just left for Germany to study painting.

Kjerulf, who loved Welhaven's new non-polemic poems, chose the highly romantic *Nøkken* [The Water Sprite] as text for his first Norwegian romance in the style of the German *Lied* (*Nøkken* is analyzed in Chapter 3). He most likely wrote the romance just before his trip to Paris in 1840. *Nøkken*'s instant success among his family and friends, combined with his father's death in 1841, led Kjerulf to quit his law studies less than a year before graduation.

⁸⁴"Mine Digte, som jeg sendte Dem til en Erindring, har utentviølst vist Dem en blidere Sangernatur, end De hos mig havde ventet; men jeg sætter ogsaa disse Digtpøvers største Værd deri, at de forkynde hvad jeg inderlig er" (ibid. 102).

⁸⁵Knudsen 1955: 240.

⁸⁶"De beste Digte i hiin Samling faldt som Dugperler, en efter en, i hans Landsmænds Sjæle, og bortsmeltede manges Fordom og mangt et Had, og stemte Gemytterne for den vanskelige Forestilling at Welhaven, skjønt han var Dæmringens forfatter, eller rettere just derfor, kunde være en fædrelandsk Sanger" (Halvorsen 1908: 366).

⁸⁷"Veksten i den nationale følelse viser sig hos Welhaven ogsaa derved, at hans sprog blir mere norsk. ... I den anden periode, fra 40-aarene af, træder det særlig norske frem; den lydhøre kunstner tager mange vakre ord op fra folkesproget" (Løchen 1900: 422).

⁸⁸"Welhavens sidste Digtsamling hører til det Fortrinligste som den dansk-norske Literatur i nyere Tid har at opvise" (WVS V: 216).

Like Welhaven, he had no financial support from his family and established himself, first as a journalist of foreign affairs with *Den Constitutionelle*,⁸⁹ and then as a piano teacher, mainly of wealthy young women. In 1845 he became the first conductor of the Norwegian Student Male Choir; he held this position until leaving for Denmark and Germany in 1849.

In the spring of 1845, a bombshell struck the Kjerulf family: Welhaven unexpectedly announced that he was marrying the Danish Josephine Bidoulac, one of his most ardent admirers. Betzy Kjerulf was devastated; Kjerulf was happy with the decision. He writes in a letter to Hjalmar after the engagement had been made public, “I suppose that it often occurred to me that Welhaven, he, who is so talkative, so lively, and whose disposition and nature is so far from that of the bachelor’s, was not fit for this lonely, unpleasant life.”⁹⁰ He continues, “Mother was deeply wounded by the engagement – although lately, she has been able to regard the situation more calmly.”⁹¹ Josephine had praised *Norges Dæmring* in such glowing terms after its release in 1834 that Welhaven sent her a copy with a poem, *For Josephine Bidoulac*. With financial stability as a tenured lecturer in philosophy since 1842,⁹² and the success of his two poetry collections, Welhaven could finally settle down. The marriage took place in May, and Welhaven left the Kjerulf household.⁹³



Josephine
Welhaven, née
Bidoulac.

Kjerulf’s production of romances during the mid-1840s was very small owing to a series of events which affected him profoundly. In 1846 he lost his newspaper job, with the result that he had to live on his small income as a piano teacher and conductor. Also, the family was forced to sell their large estate and move downtown. More than ever, Kjerulf felt trapped and isolated, and, as often before, he confided in his fond brother Hjalmar: “I now know the way, but I am scared to walk it, as I feel too feeble and too old. [He was 31.] I acknowledge that I still might embark on a partial artistic career, if only within a year (as the longest period) I could go abroad. But, when I contemplate how that were to happen in my current position, I am once more filled with despair, and my isolated position hits me with full force, and I don’t know where to turn.”⁹⁴ In the spring of 1847, when it became clear that Hjalmar

⁸⁹Halvorsen 1908: 336.

⁹⁰“Mangen gang tenkte jeg vel, at Welhaven ikke var bestemt til dette eensomme, uhyggelige liv, han der er saa meddelssom, saa livlig, han der har saa lidet af Pebersvendens Natur og Væsen” (Moe 1917: 104).

⁹¹“Paa moder gjorde forlovelsen et dybt og smerteligt indtryk – senere har hun vel seet tingen roligere” (ibid. 105).

⁹²Welhaven became a full professor in philosophy in 1846.

⁹³Over the next eight years, Josephine gave birth to five children, the first, a girl, who Welhaven named Ida, the second Johan Ernst, named after Welhaven’s beloved father, and the third Hjalmar. Josephine accepted her having to live with the dead.

⁹⁴“Nu ved jeg Veien, men er angst for hvert Skridt paa samme, da jeg føler mig for veeg og for gammel.

was dying from tuberculosis in Germany, Kjerulf was devastated. He rushed to his brother's side, and nursed him to the end.

Kjerulf remained depressed and frustrated throughout the next spring. Even though Welhaven's newly issued third collection of poetry, *Halvhundrede Digte* [Half a hundred Poems] from 1848 inspired him to compose, he got nowhere: "I must have made close to twenty attempts at setting one of your loveliest poems (The tender Day) from your '50.' Alas – it is depressing to feel, at the same time, a call and be powerless,"⁹⁵ he writes to Welhaven, who was on sabbatical leave in Copenhagen. He had planned to send twelve of his songs to him to have them evaluated by the Danish composer Johan Peter Emilius Hartmann, then the director of the Danish



Christiania Theater, opened in 1836.

Music Conservatory, but this plan came to nought; he lacked the energy and courage. He also worried about the political upheaval all over Europe in 1848. One of his few pleasures at this time seems to have been giving piano lessons to Marie Garben, whom he praised lovingly in a letter to his friend Gude on 14 April: "She played some romances by Hensel in such a manner that I wanted to kiss her. This is a girl whom I now hold in respect in a way much different from earlier. Besides, she is quite beautiful."⁹⁶

In June 1848, the German conductor, pianist, and composer Carl Arnold settled in Oslo, an event that totally changed Kjerulf's life. At long last, he was able to study music theory and composition with a professional teacher.⁹⁷ Working with Arnold was an immense inspiration to Kjerulf, an inspiration also noticed by Gude: "Halfdan works harder than before He is taking advanced music lessons with old Arnold, and from time to time I even notice that this more serious study effects him positively; once in a while he is quite

Jeg indseer at jeg vel endnu kunde drive det til en partiel Kunstudvikling, hvis jeg blot om et Aars Tid (som længste Termin) kunde komme ud. Men, naar jeg tænker paa, hvorledes det under mine Omstændigheder skulde gaae til, da overvælder atter Modløsheden mig, og min isolerede Stilling føles da ret i sin hele Jammer, og jeg veed ingen Raad" (Moe 1917: 231).

⁹⁵ "Med et af de deiligste Digte (Den blide Dag) i Deres "50" har jeg gjort, jeg troer snart, et Snees Forsøg. Ak – det er dog traurigt saaledes paa engang at føle Kald og Vanmagt" (Mohr 1946: 39).

⁹⁶ "Nogle romancer af Hensel har hun spillet saa jeg kunde have lyst til at kysse hende. Det er en Pige for hvem jeg har faaet en helt anden Respekt end jeg før havde. Dertil er hun ret nydelig" (Aimar Grønvold, "Halfdan Kjerulf: Breve til Professor Gude" [Halfdan Kjerulf: Letters to Professor Gude], in *Samtiden* 30 (1919) 38).

⁹⁷ Earlier Kjerulf did have an opportunity to study with the composer Ludvig Mathias Lindeman, who worked in Christiania; however he likely found Lindeman – whose background was only in Baroque music – too old-fashioned and conservative for a young person interested in contemporary romantic music (Grinde, private communication).

pleased when he comes to see me, telling me that Arnold has praised him for his harmonic progressions, etc.”⁹⁸ Working with Arnold resulted in his revising and publishing a number of works, including four Welhaven settings which he had written between 1843 and 1846, and was still struggling to improve. Arnold had a clear influence on Kjerulf’s development as a composer, and on his development of the romantic *Lied* in particular.



The fiddle player Ole Bull.

In 1848, the political uproar on the continent forced Norwegian musicians and painters, Gude among them,⁹⁹ to return home, an incident that led to an unprecedented gathering of artists in Christiania in the fall of that year. They soon constituted an art society with around 40 members, Kjerulf and Welhaven included. With Gude as prime mover, the society decided to arrange several evenings of *Tableaux vivantes* [living pictures] during the Market days in March of 1849. The incentive was to raise money for poor, talented artists, a need to which the Norwegian Parliament had failed to respond. *Tableaux vivantes*, a popular *Gesamtkunstwerk* in France and Germany, were well known to Gude, who was a Professor of painting in Düsseldorf. The members decided that the performances would take place in Christiania Theater. Six painters, including Gude and

Adolph Tidemann – the former a specialist in landscape painting, the latter in portraits – would paint the backcloths, Kjerulf and Arnold compose the music, the poets Andreas Munch and Jørgen Moe write poems relating to the pictures, Ole Bull play the fiddle, and a large male choir sing. Welhaven, who by now had started using many Norwegian words in his lyrics, would write the prologue. Herresthal writes:

The national tone was prevalent, however, not so specifically Norwegian that it was not placed within a European art tradition. Ole Bull played his wild revolutionary melodies, Ludvig Mathias Lindemann’s newly collected folk tunes were heard for the first time in an arrangement [by Kjerulf] for male choir, and Halfdan Kjerulf matched the audience’s perception of west coast idyll, while the immigrant Germans Friedrich August Reissiger and Carl Arnold represented the connections to Europe. The program started with romantic nature and evening moods. Then came mystical and religious longing with chiming bells, monks

⁹⁸“Halfdan arbeider meer end før Han tager Timer hos den gamle Arnold i den høiere Musik, og undertiden kan jeg endog mærke paa ham, at dette alvorligere Studium virker godt paa ham; han kommer somme tider gandske tilfreds op til mig, og fortæller at han har faaet Roes af Arnold for sine udarbejdede Treklange et cet” (Dinslage and Herresthal 1998: 19).

⁹⁹Seip notes that Hans Gude’s paintings expressed Welhaven’s artistic views, and therefore was one of his favorite painters (Seip 2007: 311).



The Bridal Procession in Hardanger painted by Tidemann and Gude.

singing, and distant organ playing. The highlight of the evening took place in the second half with Ole Bull's surprising participation, his "wild play" accompanied by depictions of dramatic events in Norwegian folklore. The event concluded with *The Bridal Procession in Hardanger's* beautiful and immortal romanticism of nature.¹⁰⁰

The Bridal Procession in Hardanger, with text by Munch, composed by Kjerulf, and painted by Tidemann and Gude, represents the zenith in Norwegian National Romanticism.

Arnold soon convinced the Norwegian government that Kjerulf should be the first Norwegian musician to receive a recently established stipend for study abroad. In October 1849, Kjerulf sailed to Copenhagen to study with his contemporary, the well established composer

¹⁰⁰Det nasjonale var fremtredende, men ikke mer ensidig norsk enn at det ble satt i relieff til en europeisk kunsttradisjon. Ole Bull spilte sine ville revolusjonstoner, Ludvig Mathias Lindemanns ferskt innsamlede folketonar klang for første gang i mannskorarrangement, og Halfdan Kjerulf traff publikums forestillinger om vestlandsidyll samtidig som de innvandrede tyskerne Friedrich August Reissiger og Carl Arnold, representerte forbindelseslinjene til Europa. Programmet startet med romantiske natur- og aftenstemninger. Deretter fikk mystikken og den religiøse lengsel plass med klokkeklang, munkesang og orgeltoner i det fjerne. Spenningen toppet seg i midten av annen avdeling med Ole Bulls overraskende medvirkning, hans "vildspel" med skildringer av dramatiske hendelser i norsk folkeliv. Det hele munnet ut i *Bruddefærdens* vakre og udødelige naturromantikk (1993: 78-82).

Niels W. Gade, whom he admired tremendously. He was thriving: “I went to Gade with my Sonata-Allegro. Acclamation and encouragement. Gade is always amiable. As I meet him, he works on his new symphony. Still he has time and energy for me.”¹⁰¹ Kjerulf must have told Gade, as well as his brother Theodor, how happy he felt about his situation. Gade writes, “You must be tremendously pleased with the fact that you have found, in Gade, such a kind man, and hopefully also a man who understands how to give you a push in the right direction from time to time.”¹⁰² He also added that Kjerulf, freed from all obligations, could finally work whenever and as much as he wanted. Theodor made the same argument, but included some brotherly advice: “Furthermore, I assume that you will not go on night sprees too often – since that kind of night work is good for nothing. Presumably both [the Danish composer Henrik] Rung and Gade say the same, and if they don’t say so, then they ought to say so.”¹⁰³

Kjerulf’s diaries reveal an almost exhausting social and cultural life. He was received with open arms by family members in Denmark, where two of his father’s sisters had married and settled in Copenhagen. He spent New Year’s day with them and “received an ink blotter and gave a scherzo.”¹⁰⁴ They continued to meet several times per week. Moreover, he was received with open arms by the city’s most prominent poets, e.g., Frederik Paludan-Möller and Carl Ploug, both of whose poems Kjerulf set to music, and by the composers Gade, Hartmann, and Rung, among others. Unlike Welhaven, who always wanted to be the center of attention, Kjerulf was a pleasant and amiable guest whom people took pleasure in inviting. He attended numerous private luncheons, dinners, and soirées, always supplying an accurate account of who was present; in addition to theater, concerts, ballets, and opera productions – which he often went to more than once – and gave brief reviews of the performances.



The Danish composer
Niels W. Gade.

However, Kjerulf’s work was slow and painful, and he was often overwhelmed by frustration: “After having finished analyzing a score by Haydn, I fumble to find a decent first theme for an Allegro. Alas! For nearly half a month I have been sitting here fumbling! And

¹⁰¹ “Hos Gade med min Sonate-Allegro. Bifald og Opmuntring. Gade er altid elskværdig. Jeg træffer ham i Arbeidet med sin nye Symfoni. Men han har dog Tid og Oplagthed til mig” (Grinde 1990, 67).

¹⁰² “Du maa være saa umaadelig glad, at Du i Gade har truffet en saa velvillig Mand, og formodentlig er han ogsaa en Mand, der forstaar at give Dig et Puf fremad engang imellem” (Moe 1918: 25).

¹⁰³ “Dernæst antager jeg ogsaa, at Du vil ikke sidde formeget paa Natterangel – for det duer aldeles ikke med det Nattearbeide. Det siger vist baade Rung og Gade, og sige de det ikke, saa burde de sige det” (ibid. 22).

¹⁰⁴ Grinde 1990: 67.

when I see what people who count for something get done!!”¹⁰⁵

Kjerulf’s slow progress was probably not caused by lack of talent or will, but by a serious, long-lasting depression. Up to this point, his adult life had been filled with tasks not of his choosing. Being the oldest and unmarried, he felt a strong responsibility towards his mother, family affairs, and his younger brothers. Moreover, he was under the impression that since proclaiming himself a music teacher he had been excluded from high places and important social events.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, he was also a man who occasionally was overwhelmed by self pity, tristesse and despondency, moods that continued to plague him even during uplifting times.

After having consulted Gade again on 11 February, Kjerulf was able to finish his Sonata-Allegro in D minor. On the 22nd he proudly writes in his diary: “Moonlit evening on the street. – Finished the Sonata-Allegro by midnight after having discarded several drafts. It has 462 measures!!”¹⁰⁷ Unfortunately, Kjerulf’s first and only Sonata has been lost.

The highlight among Kjerulf’s social events in Copenhagen was a dinner at the Heiberg residence on 5 March, just prior to his leaving for Leipzig. “I arrive as the last guest and meet a party that indeed must be called handpicked,” Kjerulf writes.¹⁰⁸ However, he did not feel “the painfulness of my situation” (still a student at age 33), owing to the fact that Heiberg is “the most excellent host,” “gay, jolly, *bonvivant*, talks like a person with authority, but is in addition quite friendly,”¹⁰⁹ and his wife, the superb actress Johanne Heiberg, “– well yes! his wife – she is and was and will always be radiant in my remembrance. And I who thought that she would fade outside the stage! ... And how she was dressed – in clear white, with a petticoat of yellow color! And how she was at the table, and afterwards, all the time graceful, beautiful, interesting, attractive. Was she mannered and affected? I did not notice.”¹¹⁰ The guests included Heiberg’s mother, the once highly venerated novelist

¹⁰⁵ “Færdig med the Haydneske Partitur famler jeg Resten af Dagen efter et Brugeligt Hovedmotiv til en Allegro. Ak! næsten en halv Maaned har jeg saaledes siddet og famlet! Og naar jeg seer, hvad der udrettes af dem, som gjælde for noget!!” (Moe 1917: 74.)

¹⁰⁶ “Siden jeg i Bladene har annonceret mig som Musiklærer, er jeg vel for bestandig ekskluderet fra de høje Steder kan jeg tænke” (ibid. 118). The latter was an exaggeration. Kjerulf was still counted among the social elite, although as a music teacher, he was no longer regarded as an eligible bachelor for a woman of the upper class.

¹⁰⁷ “Maaneskinsaften paa Gaden. – Ved Midnat færdig med Sonate-allegroen, after mange kasserede Udkast. Den har 462 takter!!” (Grinde 1990: 69.)

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. 82.

¹⁰⁹ “munter, jovial, Bonvivant; taler som den, der har Myndighed, men er derhos ret venlig og den fortræffeligste Vært” (ibid.).

¹¹⁰ “naa ja! hans Kone – hun er og var og skal være straalende i min Ihukommelse. Jeg som troede hun skulde tabe sig naar man saa hende udenfor Scenen! ... Hvorledes var kun ikke klædt – i klart hvidt, med en Underkjole af guul teint! Hvorledes var hun ikke ved Bordet og siden hele Tiden gracieus, nydelig, interessant, tiltrækkende. Var hun søgt og affekteret? Jeg fandt det ikke” (ibid.).

Thomasine Gyllembourg, “now very old and decrepit, but [who] takes part in the conversation and one senses what she has been,”¹¹¹ Gade and Hartmann, “amiable as always,” and Paludan-Müller, whose personality Kjerulf said made a strange impression on him: “Genuine sophisticated Danish combined with exceptional brilliance and scathing, apt satire.”¹¹² He continues, “Opulent table and magnificent wines. . . . Conversation at the cigar table about Oehlenschläger, Baggesen, Heuch, and Kierkegaard,¹¹³ the new *Zeitgeist*, etc. Mrs. Heiberg pays us a short visit – her story about the poetic maid and her interpretation of *Jolantha* [sic]¹¹⁴ – Overskou”¹¹⁵ stories.¹¹⁶

In mid-March Kjerulf continued from Copenhagen to Leipzig. Upon arrival, he immediately bought tickets for the last Quartet-soirée at the Gewandhaus, where he made several new acquaintances, including the young Swedish music student Ludwig Norman, whom he soon characterized as a composer of the first order. He also acquired rehearsal passes, and spent the mornings listening to the rehearsals for the evening concerts, which he then attended. At his first concert in the “große Saal,” he heard Beethoven’s Piano Concerto in G major for the first time – a work of “captivating beauty” – and his C-minor Symphony. “This superb comp[osition] and this, I dare also say superb performance made an impression that best can be described by ‘!!’. Here it is also difficult to say what pleases most since everything is divine – still, I rejoiced perhaps most inside during the Scherzo and its transition to the Finale. My God! what did I understand of it when I in 1840 heard it in Paris – and still wrote diary-twaddle about it!”¹¹⁷ At the Gewandhaus, he was also introduced to Schubert as orchestral composer in the *Overture to Rosamunde*, which he characterized as “the most happy. The overture is filled with beauty, rhythmically animated, melodious, and



The Danish actress
Johanne Luise
Heiberg.

¹¹¹ “nu meget gammel og avffældig, men er dog med i hvad der tales og lader ane, hvad hun har været” (ibid.).

¹¹² “Ægte raffineret Dansk med et Tillæg av overordentlig Aandrigheid og bidende, træffende Satire” (ibid. 82).

¹¹³ Jens Baggesen (1764-1826), Danish poet; Peter Andreas Heuch (1756-1825), a founder of the University in Christiania in 1811; Søren Kierkegaard (1813-1855), philosopher, theologian, and psychologist.

¹¹⁴ “The Dreaming Iolanthe,” a character in the play *King René’s Daughter* by Danish poet and playwright Henrik Hertz.

¹¹⁵ Thomas Overskou (1798-1873), Danish actor, playwright and stage historian.

¹¹⁶ “Rigt Bord og prægtig Viin. . . . Fru Heiberg gjør os her et kort Besøg – hendes Fortælling om den poetiske Tjenestepige og hendes Opfattelse af *Jolantha* – Overskou and hans Theaterhistorier” (ibid.).

¹¹⁷ “Denne mageløse Comp. og denne jeg tør vel ogsaa sige mageløse Udførelse gjorde et Indtryk som bedst betegnes ved ‘!!’. Her er det ogsaa vanskeligt at sige hvad der behager meest da alt er guddommeligt – men det jublade maaskee dog meest i mig under Scherzoen og dens Overgang i Finalen. – Min Gud! hvad forstod jeg vel av den, da jeg i 1840 hørte den i Paris – og skrev dog Dagbogspjank derom!” (Ibid. 88.)

magnificently orchestrated.”¹¹⁸



Gewandhaus in Leipzig, 1845

After a month in Leipzig, during which he made several excursions to Dresden and Berlin, Kjerulf began private studies in music theory and composition with the composer, *Musikdirector* Professor Ernst Friedrich Richter at the Leipzig conservatory. Kjerulf’s diary vividly pictures his struggles with “devilish” fugue writing and his frustration with his progress. More than once he skipped his appointment with Richter due to not having finished his assignments. He even started taking organ lessons, possibly to become an organist should his attempt to be a composer become a failure.

Kjerulf rarely referred to own works in his diaries from this period, and he was plagued by self-doubt about his abilities as a composer. In October of 1850 he wrote – with a sigh – that he had already spent more than a year in Germany and still accomplished very little, adding that the cause was lack of self-confidence, not laziness. A week later he mentioned that he and Norman had set the same German text to music; Norman finished in half an hour, Kjerulf took one day and the end product “was not even very good.”¹¹⁹ However, he was quite pleased with his *Lied Waldabendlust*, which Richter said was “sehr schön gemacht, gar nichts auszusetzen.” [Very well written, no cause of criticism.]¹²⁰ Nevertheless, his low spirits continued, as his entry from 30 December shows: “Tried to compose a Lied. Got nowhere,”¹²¹ not to mention his pathetic letter to Gude on 21 January: “After a year of agonizing work, I have however reached the conclusion that something fundamental is lacking in my ability to compose. All is laborious revision. I have started too late to occupy myself with a composer’s practicalities. . . . I tried my wings, but found I had none.” His mother told him bluntly: “So why compose?”¹²²

Just before the end of his stay, he confided once more in his diary that,

My desolation concerning my wretched composing becomes greater and greater.

This powerlessness of hand is just as bad as it was despite half a year of lessons

¹¹⁸ “Dette første Bekjendtskab med Schubert som Orchestercomponist var det allerlykkeligste. Ouverturen er fuld af Skjønheder, rhythmisk belivet, melodirig og prægtigt instrumentert” (ibid. 187).

¹¹⁹ Ibid. 171-172.

¹²⁰ Ibid. 176.

¹²¹ Ibid. 210.

¹²² “Efter et Aars pinefuldt Arbeide er jeg dog kommet til det Resultat at der mangler mig noget grundvæsentligt for at kunne componere. Alt er møisommeligt Flikværk. Det Praktiske der hører Componisten til er jeg kommet for sent til at befatte mig med. . . . Jeg forsøkte mine Vingers Flyvekraft og fandt at jeg havde ingen.” Hans mor sa til ham at, “Hvorfor skal du componere?” (Qvamme 1998: 61-62.)

with Richter. And thoughts! I have plenty of them, but none musical. For eight days in a row I have made sketches and then discarded them. “Don’t discard them,” one might say. But what if I know that they are not good enough! Alas – the whole matter [i.e., studies in Leipzig] might just as well have been undone; my musical talent is not of the right kind. In any case, I am too old and dull to take advantage of it. Earlier I had at least a thought or two in my head. Now I have none!!¹²³

He continues,

The 13th [Gewandhaus] subscription concert. It is quite strange to seek consolation from one’s own misery by enjoying the excellence of others. However, the pleasure is mixed. My own misery is stuck in my throat and burns in my head. And when I come home it is even more impossible for me to put anything down on paper.¹²⁴

His diary also describes his pleasure in studying and playing through a large number of scores, e.g., *Lieder* by Schubert and Schumann, including their song cycles. He treasured Schubert’s (so-called) *Schwanengesang*, in particular *Aufenthalt* and *Frühlingssehnsucht*, Mendelssohn’s *Lieder ohne Worte*, oratorios and choir works, and Cherubini’s works for choir. Kjerulf also studied chamber works, concerts, and symphonies by Haydn, Mozart, Cherubini, Beethoven, Gluck, Mendelssohn, and Schumann, in addition to works by lesser known composers, and played Bach’s *Well-Tempered Clavier*.¹²⁵ Strangely, he does not mention studying Beethoven’s *An die ferne Geliebte*, nor hearing the song cycle in performance.

Gade, who had been assistant conductor of the Gewandhaus orchestra from 1844-1848, visited Leipzig and invited Kjerulf to a private Midsummer Concert at the Gewandhaus on the occasion of Ludwig Spohr’s presence there.¹²⁶ Clara Schumann performed and Robert Schumann conducted. Kjerulf writes,

¹²³“Min Fortvivlelse over den elendige Componeren er større og større. Denne Vanmagt i Haanden er ligesaa slem som for et halvt Aar siden trods alle Timer hos Richter. Og Tanker! Af dem har jeg alskens, kun ikke musikalske. I otte Dage har jeg nu daglig gjort Udkast og kasseret. “Kasser ikke,” vil man sige. Men naar jeg seer at det ikke duer! Ak og Vee – det Hele kunde ligesaa godt være ugjort; mit musikalske Talent er ikke af rette Sort. Ialfald er jeg for gammel eller for sløv til at udnytte det. Før havde jeg da en og anden Tanke i Hovedet. Nu har jeg ingen!!” (Grinde 1990: 251.)

¹²⁴Han fortsetter: “13de Abonnements Concert. Det er underligt nok saaledes fra sin egen Jammer at søge en Trøst i Nydelsen af Andres Dygtighed. Nydelsen er dog blandet. Den egne Jammer sidder mig i Halsen og brænder i mit Hoved. Og ved Hjemkomsten er det mig umuligere at faa Noget paa Papiret!” (Ibid.)

¹²⁵Ibid. 223-226.

¹²⁶Kjerulf adds that, “Gade a *personal* good friend of Schumann’s and an admirer of his *earlier* works, is presently no Schumanerian.” [Gade *personlig* en god Ven af Schumann og en Beundrer af hans *tidligere* Værker, er nu ingen Schumanianer] (ibid. 111).

Midsummer could not have spent in a lovelier way. ... Spohr's giant figure raised above all the others. He is 67 years old and wears a blond wig. His stature is impressive; his features strong and distinctive, still with an expression of the same gentleness that permeates his music. ... Before the concert began, Robert Schumann walked around restlessly, all the time wearing his pince-nez. He is rather strongly built and well-fed, has a curious face, smooth, round, but spirited. ... Mrs. Schumann is skinny and looks nervously affected, but her appearance is still highly interesting. A pretty, sensitive profile, southern expression and skin color, black hair; expressive eyes; the whole person feminine and graceful. ... Incidentally, every musical notability that Leipzig could procure was present. The old musical 'Lord' Moscheles with his winsome wife; my friend Gade with his bright, healthy, round, mild face, his long hair and the Mozartian profile. ... Liszt was expected but – in vain. Clara Schumann played Schumann's A-minor Piano Concerto and Schumann conducted. It is unnecessary to say that she played brilliantly; that just *had* to be so. ... Clara Schumann plays with a force and with an expressiveness that visually affects her. Her playing style is too undulating, it made me think about Marie Garben.¹²⁷

Gude, who had heard Clara Schumann play in Düsseldorf, was likewise filled with admiration for her. "Have you heard her play Chopin? I am completely in love with Clara Schumann as far as a married man can fall in love; and everybody else is too. I haven't heard more than one opinion about that. And how lovely she is; what a soulful face, and how everything she plays is reflected in it!"¹²⁸

Kjerulf was usually elevated by what he saw and heard, but there were exceptions. After a performance of Meyerbeer's *Le Prophète* – once one of his favorite operas – he writes: "I

¹²⁷ "Midsommerdagen kunde ikke feires bedre. ... Spohrs Kæmsekikkelse ragede høit over alle. Han er 67 Aar og bar en blond Paryk. Hans Figur er imponerende; hans Træk stærke og markerede; dog med et Udtryk af den Mildhed der gaar gjennem hans Musik. ... Forinden Concerten begynte bevægede Robert Schumann sig urolig om, stedse med Lorgnetten for Øiet. Han er temmelig strærkbygget og velnæret, har et underligt Ansigt glat, rundt men aandrigt. ... Fru Schumann er mager og seer nervøs afficeret ud, men hendes ydre er dog høist interessant. En smuk, klog Profil, sydlandsk Udtryk og Hudfarge, sort Haar; Øiet udtryksfuldt; den hele Person kvindelig og graciøs. ... Forresten fandtes alt hvad Leipzig i denne Tid af musikalske Notabiliteter har at opvise. Den gamle musikalske 'Lord' Moscheles med sin tækkelige Frue; min Ven Gade med sit opvakte, sunde, runde, milde Ansigt med det lange haar og den mozartske profil. ... Lizst ventedes men – forgjæves. Clara Schumann spillede Schumanns A-moll Claveerconcert og Schumann dirigerede. Det er unødigt at sige at hun spillede ypperligt; det var noget som *maatte* være saa. ... Clara Schumann spiller med en Kraft og med et Udtryk der synlig angriber hende selv. Hendes Holdning er for ondulerende; jeg maate tænke paa Marie Garben" (ibid. 112).

¹²⁸ "Har du hørt henne spille Chopin? Clara Schumann er jeg aldeles forelsket i, forsaavidt som jeg som Ægteemand kan blive forelsket; og Alle her med mig: jeg har ikke hørt mere end een Stemme derom. Og saa deilig som hun er, hvilket beaandet Ansigt, og hvor Alt, hvad hun spiller, speiler sig deri!" (Moe 1918: 101.)

have now enough and more than enough of him, and I dare say that I have seen him for the last time. . . . A guest, a certain Frau v. Casilla sang Fides – she looked ugly and sang hideously.”¹²⁹

Over the 15 months that he spent in Denmark and Germany, Kjerulf attended over 100 opera performances, concerts, plays, and ballets; half of these were operas that he saw up to five times. In addition, he went to every art museum and exhibition in the cities he visited. He simply could not get enough art.

Kjerulf’s return to Christiania in 1851 marked the beginning of his success as a romance composer. During the next 17 years he composed close to 130 songs. In addition, he wrote over 50 original works for the Student Male Choir,¹³⁰ and his beloved male quartet,¹³¹ of which about one third have texts by Welhaven; some 30 character pieces for piano; and produced nearly 70 arrangements, predominantly of Norwegian folk ballads, and songs by the Swedish Carl Bellman, turning the former into art-songs.



Kjerulf’s quartet – in reality a double quartet – consisting of family members and friends.

By now Kjerulf’s life was filled with daily routines which suited his meticulous and thrifty personality well. He received piano students from nine until noon, took a midday dinner, and later walked to town to read newspapers and have tea. Between four and six he saw more students, and would then, if in the mood, play “twilight music” for his mama, who, almost to Kjerulf’s surprise, was “kind enough to take pleasure in his playing.”¹³² In the evening he often attended soirées, concerts, and plays, not to mention dinner parties, occasional balls, and engaged in his favorite activity, rehearsing and performing with his quartet.

From 1852 onwards, Kjerulf turned to Welhaven less frequently for his romances.¹³³ The reasons were numerous. Firstly, Welhaven’s output steadily declined as did the quality of

¹²⁹“Jeg har nu nok og mere enn nok af ham og tør vel sige jeg har seet ham for sidste Gang. . . . En Gjæst, en Frau v. Casilla sang Fides – styg var hun og fælt sang hun” (ibid. 198).

¹³⁰Two of his most popular male choir songs, *Solvirkning* [Aftermath of the Sun] and *Barcarole*, were set to texts by Welhaven and Heiberg, respectively. *Solvirkning* was a joint project between Gude, on whose painting Welhaven based the lyrics, and Kjerulf.

¹³¹In 1845 Kjerulf started a private male quartet, which sometimes was expanded to a double quartet. The quartet often performed at private soirées and for the King when he was in residence.

¹³²“Saa spiller jeg naar det kommer over mig Tusmørkemusik for Mama som er snil nok til at finne Behag deri” (Qvamme 1998: 70).

¹³³He did in his later years set Welhaven songs for male choir, of which several were written for special events.

his poetry, according to both general audiences and critics, as well as Kjerulf. In a letter to his brother Theodor, Kjerulf writes that Welhaven's 1851 collection, *Travel Sketches and Poems*, unfortunately was a "general fiasco," but added that "there are some golden things in between, where I recognize my man,"¹³⁴ however, he did not set any of the 16 texts to music. Welhaven's next collection, *A Poetry Collection*, from 1859, did not fare much better. Of the 24 poems new to the public, 13 were written for a person or a public event. The publisher was once more Welhaven's old friend Dahl, who was nearly out of business by now. The book was a disgrace, printed in Duodezformat on thin paper, the print showing through from one side onto the other and giving the impression that the author was a person in whom the publisher did not want to invest.¹³⁵ The critic of *Christianiaposten* wrote that "the source has begun to dry out"¹³⁶ while the *Aftenbladet's* critic pronounced that "Welhaven is an artist, no real poet."¹³⁷ Nevertheless, among the mainly religious poems were, once again, "some golden things": the poem *Lokkende toner* [Alluring Strains] is among the highlights in Norwegian romance literature and inspired Kjerulf to write one of his finest and most frequently performed romances.

Secondly, in the fall of 1851, Theodor, who had been writing poetry "on the side," sent Kjerulf some texts upon request, one of which, *Sing, Nightingale!*, he instantly set. He soon told Theodor that the Nightingale was such a tremendous success with "the tender young ladies" in the Lasson family that he was eager to give his poems another try.¹³⁸ Within a year, Kjerulf had set an additional five of Theodor's texts to music, and ten in total before the end of 1854.

Thirdly, Kjerulf's love for the German *Lied* had further developed during his stay in Germany, as did his admiration for German poets, Emanuel Geibel in particular, and the French Victor Hugo. In a letter to Theodor, Kjerulf writes that, "what I do best is setting poems that are well-shaped and sonorous, as for example Geibel's own *Gedichte*," and added that although Geibel probably was not the greatest among poets, "he reads nicely – his stanzas are pure and graceful, nothing is stilted. Even when he is quite easy and plain, he sings so fair and sweet."¹³⁹ In addition, his acquaintance with the Norwegian nationalistic

¹³⁴ "Welhaven's bog: 'Reisebilleder og Digte' har desværre gjort almindelig Fiasco. . . . Men saa kommer det enkelte gyldne Sager imellem, hvorpaa jeg kjender min Mand igjen" (Moe 1918: 133).

¹³⁵ Johan Ernst Sars, "Til ærindring om Welhaven," *Norge, norsk kalender*, ed. Nordahl Rolfsen (Kristiania: Jacob Dybwads Forlag, 1895) 107.

¹³⁶ "Kilden begynder at standse" (Kjerulf's unpublished diaries, 8 Dec. 1859).

¹³⁷ "Welhaven er en Kunstner, ingen riktig Digter" (ibid. 10 Jan. 1860).

¹³⁸ "Jeg har gjort en saa dunderende Lykke hos de følsomme Frøkener ude hos Lassons med Nattergalen, du veed nok, og har derfor Lyst paa atter at forsøge mig" (Moe 1918: 132).

¹³⁹ "Jeg kan bedst sætte Musik til velformede, klingende Vers som t. Ex. Geibels egne Gedichte" (ibid. 141). "Geibel er sød at læse - hans Stanzer ere ædle og yndige, Intet stylter sig frem. Selv hvor han er noksaa let og triviell, synger han saa fagert og yndigt" (ibid. 146).

writer and poet Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson – whose *Bondefortellinger* [Peasant Stories] Kjerulf loved – was extremely fruitful. His 15 Bjørnson songs, many of them written in “the Nordic ballad style,”¹⁴⁰ i.e., the folksong idiom, just flowed from his fingers onto the paper.¹⁴¹ They belong to Kjerulf’s most venerated *œuvres*. Kjerulf, who always felt inferior to the self-inflated Welhaven, and often struggled with the setting of his texts, had finally been able to liberate himself from Welhaven’s strong personality.



The geologist and poet Theodor Kjerulf.

In the summer of 1855 Kjerulf visited Gude in Düsseldorf. He also took the opportunity to attend the large music festival in Cologne with the sole purpose of hearing the Swedish soprano Jenny Lind in Haydn’s *The Creation*. Afterwards, his letters were filled with rave enthusiasm for the most wonderful singer he had ever heard: “I had to hide my face, the reason being that I cried from her first to her last note in Ariel’s B major aria.”¹⁴² Passing through Copenhagen on his way back, he learned that Gade’s young wife Sophie, the daughter of his friend and colleague Hartmann, had died while giving birth to twins. Kjerulf did not dare to visit Gade; however, friends urged him to send Gade a note, which resulted in a prompt invitation from the composer. The storyteller Hans Christian Andersen, an intimate friend of the Hartmanns, was also present. After Andersen had left, Gade let Kjerulf see the two newborns, an event that left him devastated.¹⁴³

Kjerulf returned to Germany the following summer, and as always when traveling in Germany, he enjoyed himself immensely. He attended opera, ballet, and theater performances in Dresden, Berlin, and Hamburg, and heard Wagner’s *Tannhäuser* for the first time, an opera which impressed him “in spite of all [my] reluctance.”¹⁴⁴ Coming back to Christiania in the fall was a shock, as always. “All the misery is due to our permanent musical wretchedness. No resources; no abilities,” he complained in the spring of 1857.¹⁴⁵ During the winter months

¹⁴⁰Due to the strong Nordic movement in the mid 19th century which Kjerulf and Welhaven were part of, Kjerulf called his songs written in the folksong idiom for either Nordic or Norwegian, both having the same meaning (Grinde 1989: 178).

¹⁴¹E.g., Opus 6, *Otte norske viser med pianoforte* [Eight Norwegian ballads with pianoforte] 1859 (five songs were by Bjørnson); and Opus 14, *Fem Sange af Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson*, 1865.

¹⁴²“Jeg maatte skjule mit Ansigt, fordi jeg var i en Graad fra hendes første til hendes sidste Tone i Ariels B-dur Arie” (ibid. 150).

¹⁴³Grinde 2003: 153-54.

¹⁴⁴“Trods al Modstræben” (Kjerulf’s unpublished diaries, Aug. 1856).

¹⁴⁵“Al Ulykken ligger i vor permanente musikalske Misère. Ingen Kræfter; ingen Sands” (ibid. 12 April, 1857).

he had been plagued with self pity and depression. Rereading Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* comforted him, but he found reading his own Leipzig diaries disheartening. "My God, how much I could have achieved then! But, somehow, that is what always happens to me. I have only exploited half (and not even that much!) of my talents. I have, through self-infliction, suffered the loss of bodily strength, and thereby perhaps caused even greater damage to my intellect. And yet, how far better I have fared than I deserve. Still – true enough – alone I stand, and the zenith (life's!) is already past!"¹⁴⁶

As mentioned, in 1858 Kjerulf started setting nationalistic texts by Bjørnson. In January 1860 he met Ole Bull in town. Bjørnson and Ibsen had just founded *Det norske Selskab* [The Norwegian Society], and Bull, who was one of the invited members, urged Kjerulf to join them and their cause, the "Promotion of Nationalism in Literature and Art." Kjerulf told him that he was previously unwanted in the club – and so was Welhaven – since he was not more Norwegian than, as he showed Bull, the tip of his pinky. Bull wanted to know who had told him so. Kjerulf declined, however informing him that this was not the reason he would not join, probably having in mind the description of the society that his friend the musician Johan Didrik Behrens had offered, "that this club is only a camaraderie of Norwegian Norwegianess, coarseness, and bigotry."¹⁴⁷ Kjerulf then told Bull that he was Norwegian in his own way and presently had a whole collection of Norwegian songs in the press, including five by Bjørnson. He added sarcastically: "Hence they can soon judge if the Leipziger is still such a Leipziger."¹⁴⁸ When the songs, Opus 6, *Eight Norwegian Ballads* [Otte norske Viser], which also included *The Mountain Wanderer Sings* by Welhaven and one poem by Wergeland, were issued in March, Kjerulf sent a copy to Bjørnson, with the result that the writer reversed his opinion of the composer and wanted to collaborate with him.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ "Herregud hvormeget kunde jeg dengang have udrettet! Dog saaledes er det altid gaaet mig. Jeg har kun halvt (og ikke det engang!) benyttet mine Anlæg. Jeg har selvforskyldt mistet legemlige Kræfter og derved kanske mest skadet Aandens. Og hvor langt bedre er det alligevel ikke gaaet mig end jeg havde fortjent. Dog – vistnok – ene staar jeg og Middagstiden (Livets!) er alt forbi!" (Ibid. 21 Jan. 1857.)

¹⁴⁷ "at denne Klub kun er et Cameraderie af norsk Norskhed, Raahed og Bornethed" (Moe 1918: 244).

¹⁴⁸ "Saa kan de faa at se om Leipzigeren er saa svært leipzigsk endda" (ibid. 244-245).

¹⁴⁹ The collaboration came to naught, in part because Kjerulf found Bjørnson's personality too overwhelming.

Later years

Approaching the age of 50, Kjerulf was regarded as the leading romance composer in Norway and Sweden. In recognition, he was awarded in 1863 the newly established *Pro litteris et artibus* medal from King Carl XV of the union Sweden-Norway, and in 1865, he was elected to the Swedish Royal Academy of Music at the King's request.¹⁵⁰ When the Swedish composer, conductor, and writer Jacob Axel Josephson visited him, he told Kjerulf that, "In Sweden, the only real music one sings nowadays are your songs, the rest is hit songs and trash."¹⁵¹ A Danish reviewer wrote that he wished Grieg would show more of "Kjerulf's melodic flight."¹⁵²

In Christiania, Kjerulf was again moving in high circles. When the King was in residence, he was invited to balls and soirées – "I am living splendidly in the King's presence,"¹⁵³ he wrote in his diary. His quartet was summoned to sing, and the king performed his songs. "Soirée with dance at the royal castle. We danced in the dining room and next to the throne room and dined in the beautiful red room. The King was in a splendid mood and enjoyed himself tremendously with song and dance. After the ball he stayed up with the quartet until a quarter of four."¹⁵⁴

In May 1866, Heiberg's widow Johanne paid a visit to Christiania. Again Kjerulf was invited to luncheons and dinners. "Dinner party at Prefect Collett's for Mrs. Heiberg (the actress). She still looks excellent despite her 54 years.[!] She has lost her bangs, but hides it quite excellently with a 'decoration.' I don't think she recognized me. I had to play for her, and Mrs. Collett [Camilla, Welhaven's old girlfriend] sang of couple of mine – gruesome!!"¹⁵⁵



Halfdan Kjerulf in the 1860s.

¹⁵⁰As a previous news correspondent of foreign affairs, Kjerulf was always interested in political events. On 28 April he writes in his diary: "according to news from New York Lincoln has been murdered in the theater (in Washington) on the 19 April and Seward is hurt." ["ifølge Efterretninger fra New York er Lincoln myrdet i Theatret (i Washington) den 19. April, og Seward er saaret."]

¹⁵¹"I Sverige synger man for Tiden af ordentlig Musik, kun dine Sange, ellers blot Modesager og Skidt" (Kjerulf's unpublished diaries, 4 Aug. 1864).

¹⁵²Ibid. 1 Jan. 1866.

¹⁵³"Jeg lever flot i kongelig Nærhed" (ibid. 18 Jan. 1866).

¹⁵⁴"Soirée med Dands paa Slottet. Kvarteten indbudet. Der dandsedes i Spisesalen og ved Siden af Thronsalen og der souperedes i den røde smukke Sal. Kongen var i straalende Humør og morede sig kostelig med Sang og Dands. Efter Ballet holdt han ud med Kvartetten til Kl. 1/4 4" (ibid. 16 Jan. 1866).

¹⁵⁵"Middagsselskab hos Amtmand Collett for Fru Heiberg (skuespillerinden). Hun ser endnu udmærket godt ud trods sine 54 Aar. Pandehaaret har hun mistet og skjuler det med en ganske udmærket 'Dekoration'.




Edv Grieg

Første Abonnements-Koncert.

Torsdag den 12te December 1867.

1. Symfoni (g moll) Mozart.

a) Allegro molto.
b) Andante.
c) Menuetto.
d) Finale. Allegro assai.

2. Romancer for Sopran Kjerulf.

a) **Det var saa tyst** — (ny)
(Efter det Engelske ved Caralis.)

Det var saa tyst, fra Birk og Lind
Kun Duggens Taare trilled,
Og Vinden sov paa Havet ind,
I Lys dets Bølger spilled.

Ved Marys Arm langs dunkle Vig
O! hvor var Himlen nær jeg.
Jeg trykked hendes Haand: O sig!
Du Søde, har Du kjær mig?

Hun bøied bly sig, hendes Blik
Et Slør af Skjønheid dølger;
Hun taug, urolig Barmen gik,
Som Søen, naar den bølger.

Da raabte jeg: „O tal! fortæl
Min Dom ved Stjerneskjær mig!“ —
Hun sukkede: Ak! altfor vel
Du ved hvor kjær du er mig!

b) Alfernes Hvisken.

Det er en deilig Sommerdag,
Den friske Lund har reist sit Tag,
Og lader Løvet suse.
I Luften flagre Alfer om,
Og hviske blidt: „O skynd dig, kom
Til vore Lundehuse!“

Der er saa lunt, der er saa tyst,
Der falde Blomster paa dit Bryst
Fra rige Lindegrene,
Og ønsker Du at drømme sødt,
Da kan Du hvile ganske blødt
Paa mosbelagte Stone.

c) — „Og vil du være Vennen min“ —

Og vil du være Vennen min
I Sorrig og i Gammen? —
Saa ræk mig trøstig Haanden din
Og lad os tale sammen.

Men vil du have Hjertet mit,
Saa er det ei mit eget —
Og tal ei haardt og tal ei blidt,
Og spørg mig ei formeget —

Hvad alt er tændt det tændes ei,
Saa stærkt end Ilden fanger —
Men Ingen mener det som jeg
Saa vidt — og ikke længer!

3. Sørgeomarsch over Rikard Nordraak . . Edvard Grieg.
(for stort Kor af Blæseinstrumenter.)

Edvard Grieg's *Først Abonnements-Koncert* [First subscription concert] in 1867.

Increasingly Kjerulf's songs entered the concert halls in Sweden and Norway. In December 1867 Grieg gave his first subscription concert (in Christiania) with the following program: Mozart's G minor Symphony, Beethoven's Egmont songs, his own Funeral March for Richard Nordraak,¹⁵⁶ and three romances by Kjerulf performed by Grieg's wife Nina, née

Jeg tror neppe hun kjendte mig igjen. Jeg matte dog spille for hende, og Fru Collett sang et Par af mine – forfærdeligt!!” (ibid. 28 May, 1866). Apparently, Camilla had no shame. During a dinner party for the Berg's she told Kjerulf that she wanted to sing a duet with Helene. Kjerulf writes, “Camilla, Camilla, you will regret it!” [“Camilla, Camilla, du kommer til at angre det!”] (Ibid. 27 Sept. 1859.)

¹⁵⁶Richard Nordraak, Norwegian composer (1842-1866), Bjørnson's cousin and a friend of Grieg.

Hagerup.¹⁵⁷ Grieg continued to include Kjerulf's songs in his concerts.

Unfortunately, Kjerulf's health problems now grew worse, and his diaries and letters contain numerous references to his "different nuances" of bad cough and "the unmentionable aliment."¹⁵⁸ He underwent several treatments at Grefsen Bad in Christiania, where he records taking pine baths, drinking milk, and vegetating,¹⁵⁹ and was advised by his doctor to cut back on his cigarette and cigar smoking[!]¹⁶⁰



Welhaven in later years, photographed in the same setting as Kjerulf above.

Welhaven, too, was in bad health. According to Kjerulf, he was suffering from insomnia, his hands were shaking, and his face looked stiff.¹⁶¹ Kjerulf worried that the poet might have to retire from his university position, "and thus shall this bright intellect be extinguished prematurely!"¹⁶² Welhaven recovered somewhat, but his wife Josephine became seriously ill and died on 2 December 1866. On 7 December Kjerulf writes in his diary: "She was buried in the Chapel of Our Savior. . . . Welhaven did not attend. . . . It was the 7th of December 26 years ago that Ida died." Kjerulf visited Welhaven two days before Christmas, commenting that Welhaven was sitting in the living room with two of his children, Ida and little Marie. He did not talk about Josephine, but about other things, mostly about Theodor's poems. "Once again he returned to the issues that in poetry word and thought had to be in perfect harmony and that in the Art of poetics a clear thought always had to find a clear expression."¹⁶³

While Kjerulf's popularity with the general public increased with age, Welhaven's declined. Welhaven published two additional collections of poems and a few traveling sketches, but his later poems rarely reached the level of mastery of his earlier works. As early as 1858 Kjerulf wrote to a friend that Welhaven as a poet "is long since forgotten."¹⁶⁴ By contrast, Welhaven's popularity as

¹⁵⁷Ibid. 13 Dec. 1867.

¹⁵⁸Kjerulf probably suffered from hemorrhoids.

¹⁵⁹"Jeg skal tage Furubad med Afrivning og drikke Melk og vegetere" (Qvamme 1998: 162).

¹⁶⁰Kjerulf's unpublished diaries, 7 Feb. 1864.

¹⁶¹The neurologist Halfdan Kierulf, a relative of Kjerulf's uncle, argues that Welhaven suffered from Parkinson's disease (H. Kierulf, private conversation).

¹⁶²"Og saaledes skal denne lyse Aand slukkes før Tiden!" (Kjerulf's unpublished diaries, 4 July 1865).

¹⁶³"Han kom atter til at tale om det Berettigede i at i Poesi Ordet og Tanken maa være i fuldstændig Harmoni, og at en klar Tanke altid maa kunne i Ordets Kunst finde et klart Udtryk" (ibid.).

¹⁶⁴Moe 1918: 202.

a lecturer never declined. He taught as a Reader and Professor of Philosophy for 26 years, and the students loved him. In his sixties Welhaven had to withdraw from teaching. The students honored him by gathering in front of his house with torches, singing a song based on a poem by Bjørnson written in his honor, and thanking him for his dedication and brilliance. They concluded by saying: “We thank you for having been a great spiritual force in a jejune time and therefore a leader for our people in its struggle for its future.”¹⁶⁵ Upon Welaven’s death in November 1873, his academic colleagues showed him a last honor by carrying his coffin from the church to his grave.¹⁶⁶

Kjerulf never totally recuperated from his lung ailment, and with age his condition worsened. To his delight he awarded the highest Norwegian distinction, the order of Sankt Olav, in 1867, less than a year before his death. He also won great recognition by having his *Bridal Procession in Hardanger* performed at the World Exhibition in Paris the same year. The work was a huge success, resulting in a request from the famous French conductor Pasdeloup for the song to be performed at his large concert at Paris in October 1868. Kjerulf died peacefully on 11 August, sadly before the event took place. Theodor received the following cable from the King after his brother’s death: “Professor Kjerulf. I have with sorrow been informed about Halfdan Kjerulf’s death, and hereby express my condolences on behalf of my family. Carl.”¹⁶⁷

Kjerulf’s funeral took place on 15 August with all of Christiana’s choral societies and a large number of dignitaries, family, and friends in attendance. On the occasion Bjørnson wrote a new text to one of Kjerulf’s own songs, which was performed by his male quartet together with members of the Student Union male choir:

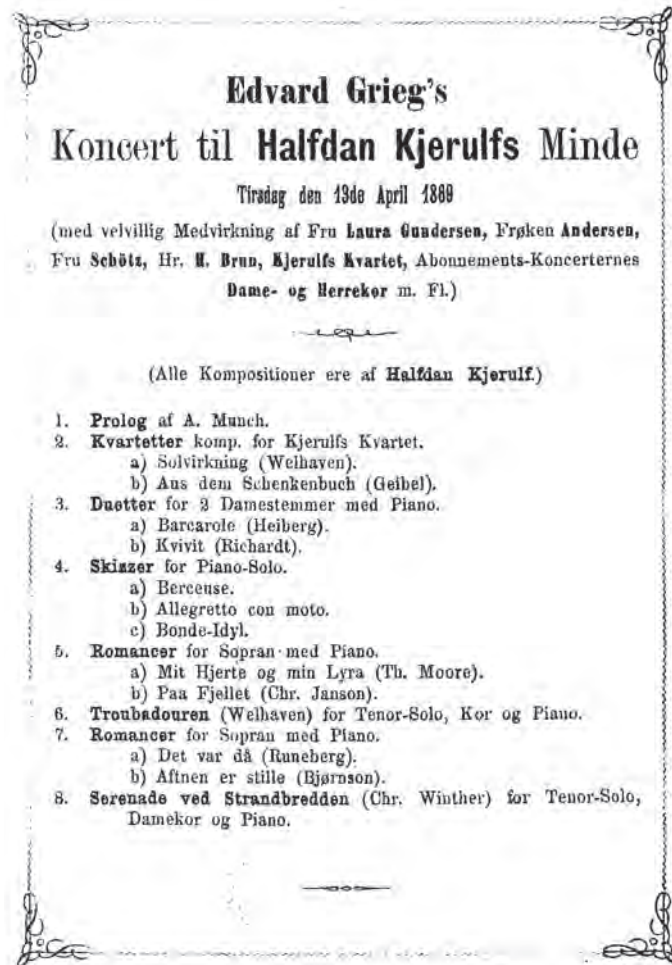
En Tone af dine skal følge dig hid
og bære vor Smerte i Afskedens Strid
og mane dit Minde
og klagende rinde
med Graad over Graven
i Kornhøstens Tid.

A tone of yours shall follow you here
and carry our grief in the time of farewell
and invoke your remembrance
and sorrowful stride
with tears at your grave
at the harvest time.

¹⁶⁵ “Vi takker Dem, fordi De har været en Aandens mand i en aandsfattig Tid og derfor en Høvding for vort Folk i dets Kamp mod sin Fremtid” (Halvorsen 1908: 347).

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ “Professor Kjerulf. Jeg har med Sorg modtaget Underretning om Halfdan Kjerulf’s Død, og udtrykker herved for Familien min Deltagelse. Carl” (Moe 1918: 300).



Edvard Grieg's concert in memory of Halfdan Kjerulf, 1869. All works are by Kjerulf. The program gives an excellent cross-section of his works, including two songs for Kjerulf's male quartet, two duets for female voices, three piano sketches, four romances for one voice, one serenade for women's choir, and one song for tenor solo and male choir.

In summary, the composer Halfdan Kjerulf found in the poems of Johan Sebastian Welhaven the perfect vehicle for transforming his musical thought into what became the Norwegian Romance. Their common love of nature played a transformative role. Kjerulf's walks in nature filled his soul with music. To Welhaven nature was consoling, placating his often troubled mind and bringing him closer to his lost beloved. Welhaven's poetic description of nature and myth resonated with Kjerulf, creating the fertile ground for the composer's musical development.

Grieg wrote in the composer's obituary that we are greatly indebted to Kjerulf for choosing the romance as his field, his having had no predecessor to lean on. His point of departure

was the simple folk ballad, which only expressed the most primitive in Norwegian culture.¹⁶⁸ Despite Kjerulf's love for the grand forms, he was never able to develop the necessary skills to express them. Instead he turned to the smaller forms, and most importantly to the romance. This medium, one he could control, suited his meticulous personality and his striving for perfection. Furthermore, it was ideal for expressing his feelings for nature, as well as his own unhappy encounter with love. Through the inspiration of Welhaven's beautiful poems and his romantic imagery, Kjerulf created a new Norwegian musical art form, *Den norske romance* [The Norwegian Romance].

¹⁶⁸Grieg 1868: 405.

Chapter 2

The European Heritage of Kjerulf and Welhaven

Aesthetic influences

An aesthetic attitude was integral to the great European writers at the end of the 18th century. It was also essential to Welhaven and Kjerulf, who loved beauty, order, and harmony, cultivated good taste and manners, and hated the raw, barbaric, and overly emotional. Kjerulf feared and Welhaven detested dilettantism, and they fully agreed that art had to be learned. In addition, Welhaven felt that it was imperative to educate and enlighten the common man, following a conviction that “The light has to come, here as everywhere, from above.”¹ In 1836, he was a driving force in creating the first museum of art in Christiania, the *Kunstforening*, and in 1857, Kjerulf, together with Johann Gottfried Conradi² established the *Subscription Concerts* to introduce new and important musical works to the general public and refine their musical taste.

The aesthetic influences on Kjerulf are not well documented. From his diaries we know that he read Goethe’s novels and poems and a number of his biographies, including Eckermann’s three-volume “Conversations with Goethe” [Gespräche mit Goethe], which Kjerulf characterized as “works that everybody will learn something from, and which elucidate Goethe’s worth as a poet and human being more so than the best that has previously been written about him.”³ Particularly dear to him were the letters of prominent composers, e.g., those of Mozart, Beethoven, and Schumann, not to mention the “beautiful letters” of Mendelssohn.⁴ Kjerulf read Schiller’s plays and poems, as well as the collected works of Johann Heinrich Heine, whom he characterizes as “tenacious of life” and still witty, although his frivolities are almost dissolute.⁵ He was also fond of Victor Hugo, whose poems he set to music. Above all, Kjerulf enjoyed what he called “the music of the language” and sought a

¹ “Lyset maaher, som overalt, komme overfra” (WSV III: 204).

² Composer and conductor Johann Gottfried Conradi (1820-1896).

³ “Værk som Enhver vil lære noget af og som bidrager til at oplyse Goethes Værd som Digter og Menneske mere end det Bedste der ellers er skrevet om ham” (Kjerulf’s unpublished diaries, 5 April 1854).

⁴ Ibid. 30 July 1865.

⁵ “Hans vittighed er ikke udtømt, men Frivoliteten er nu næsten Ryggesløs” (ibid. 11 Nov. 1854).

musical form that enhanced the poem's content,⁶ aesthetic qualities he found in the works of Goethe and Schiller, and also in Welhaven's poetics.

Unlike Welhaven, who frequently referred to his aesthetic ideals in letters and writings (see below), Kjerulf remained silent on this point. However, we do get a clear impression of his aesthetics in his reviews of other composers' works, and from rare utterances in his letters. After he heard a performance by the famous Norwegian fiddler Ole Bull, Kjerulf writes:

“How true it is, that the laws of ethics also are art's laws. And the aesthetics of one art form is also that of another – only the material is different. ... I am entranced by such a fellow – why not. I am after all not a stone. However, he does not bring me around – and why? Because in art I do not see the best in that which immediately (momentarily) enchants and pleases – but in that which continuously captures and *gains by repetition*.⁷

Grinde argues that this quote can be regarded as Kjerulf's aesthetic credo.⁸

Kjerulf was easily moved emotionally, and consequently there is often a dichotomy in his reviews of certain composers, e.g., Meyerbeer and Berlioz. He loved their music because it spoke to his heart and his sentiments, even if it did not always speak to his aesthetic sense and his sense of beauty. *Les Huguenots* was too full of props and musical events; there was no place to take a breath. Likewise, Berlioz's music contained elements that he could not fathom, and at one time he felt compelled to run up to the orchestra and ask Berlioz if he were crazy!⁹

Kjerulf's favorite composer was Beethoven, whose works he compared in their clarity and form to the works of Goethe and Schiller. In Beethoven's music he found all the features he cherished, above all clear form and balance, power and beauty; music that he would return to over and over. Beethoven's was music he could understand. Even in his late works, which Kjerulf admitted could be difficult to understand, he writes that Beethoven “never breaks a wisely chosen form's drawn out lines, but just lawfully extends them” by going further and deeper.¹⁰ To Kjerulf, Beethoven had carried his music to “complete perfection.” The

⁶Moe 1918: 145.

⁷“Hvor sandt er det ikke, at Moralens Love er ogsaa Kunstens, og den ene Kunsts Æstetik er ogsaa den andens – kun Materialet er forskjelligt. ... Jeg lader mig henrive af en saadan Karl – hvorfor ikke? Jeg er dog ingen Sten. Men han omvender mig ikke – og hvorfor? Fordi jeg i Kunsten ikke ser det Bedste og Ualmindeligste i det som strax (momentant) griber og tiltaler – men i det som stadig fængler og *vinder ved Gjæntagelse*” (Letter to his friend Julius Nicolaysen, in Moe 1918: 185).

⁸2003: 285.

⁹Grinde 1990: 40, 55.

¹⁰“aldrig bryder en viselig valgt Forms foretegnede Linier, men kun lovmæssig udvider dem” (Grinde 2003: 266).

romantic Kjerulf did not, as Grinde notes, regard Schubert, Mendelssohn, and Schumann among his musical icons. He admired them, and loved their declamatory songs. However to Kjerulf, Beethoven was a God whose music could be worshipped but never replicated, a stance he had in common with Brahms.

The German musical tradition, from Mozart to Beethoven, Schubert, and Schumann, represented to Kjerulf the zenith in musical development and expression. Like Welhaven in poetics, Kjerulf argued strongly for music's ethical content – it should not corrupt – and aesthetical – it should induce a sense of beauty in its listeners¹¹ – and made unending efforts to refine his romances as much as possible, a fact that the committee that awarded him the nation's first music stipend noted in its concluding remarks: “his striving for beautiful and significant Gestalt in his works is unmistakable.”¹² Although Kjerulf could not replicate Beethoven's music, he strived all his life to imitate the perfection of form and beauty that he found in Beethoven.

The aesthetic legacy of Sagen, Oehlenschläger, Heiberg, and Schiller

Lyder Sagen and Adam Oehlenschläger: The first person to lay the ground for Welhaven's aesthetical and artistic views was his school teacher Lyder Sagen. Sagen, as mentioned earlier, introduced Welhaven to the Classicists, to European writers and philosophers, and to the Danish romantic literary movement and its leader Adam Oehlenschläger, who was Sagen's favorite writer and a close friend from his earlier days in Copenhagen.¹³ Sagen instilled in Welhaven a quest for artistic beauty, clear form, and poetic objectivity, urging him to shun superfluous words and expressive emotional subjectivity.¹⁴

Welhaven too, as noted, loved Oehlenschläger's works, finding in them the perfect combination of classical form and romantic content, a blending which would become his personal idiom. In the invitation to his 1837 lecture series in Christiania, Welhaven claimed that Romanticism was a protest against the content of classical poetry, and that “this protest was a reform for all times.” Instead of looking to Rome, the Romantics had turned to “the despised, uneducated poetry of the Volk,” which allowed them to describe their own experiences in “homely colors and tones.”¹⁵

¹¹Herresthal 1993: 134-135.

¹²“Hans stræben efter skjøn og betydningsfuld Gestaltning af sine Productioner er umiskjendelige” (Grinde 2003: 99).

¹³Vassdal 2006: 177.

¹⁴Idar Handagard, *Welhaven* (Oslo: Norsk Bokhandel, 1926) 20.

¹⁵*Invitation to a Series of Lectures on the Literary History of our Language* [Indbydelse til literaturhistoriske Forelæsninger] (WSV III: 272).

Oehlenschläger, in the preface to his *Nordiske Digte* [Nordic Poems] – which contains the epic poem *Thors Reise til Jothunheim* [Thor’s Journey to the Jothunheim] and the tragedy *Baldur hin Gode* [Baldur the Good], both built on Norse mythology, and *Hakon Jarl hin Rige* [Earl Haakon the Mighty], a tragedy built on a Danish national hero – points to historic deeds and to “distinctive nationalistic material” as the most imperative poetic subjects.¹⁶ Welhaven concurred with Oehlenschläger’s move from Greek and Roman to Nordic mythology and history, praising it in his eulogy for Oehlenschläger in 1850.¹⁷ Welhaven’s second collection of poems contains a number of Norwegian epic and historic poems, e.g., *Aasgaard-sreien* [Odin’s Wild Hunt] and *Vise om Hellig Olaf* [The Ballad of Saint Olaf], which are among his most venerated works.

Early in his career Kjerulf set two poems by Oehlenschläger to music, *Violen* [The Violet] (ca. 1840), originally a text by Goethe, and *Romance af “Aly og Gulhundy,”* (1850) an ode to music. He was not satisfied with either. He regarded *Violen* as a premature dilettantish work, and regretted that the song had ever been published,¹⁸ and in a letter to Gade remarks that he feels ashamed to be publishing a trifle such as the *Romance*.¹⁹

Johan Ludvig Heiberg: The second major shaper of Welhaven’s aesthetics and artistry was Professor Johan Ludvig Heiberg.²⁰ After the publication of his polemic sonnet *Norges Dæmring* in 1834, Welhaven sent Heiberg, to whom he was extremely proud to be related, a copy with the dedication:²¹

Til J. L. Heiberg

Min Mo’r er Datter af en Cammermeyer,
og han var gift med Deres Faders Tante;
og tro mig, blandt Kognaterne, jeg eier,
er denne Dame mig den mest pikante.
Jeg venter, at De Tankegangen gjætter:
hun gjør Dem etter Kjødets til min Fætter.

O, gid De fandt, naar her De bruger Sonden,
blot nogle Glimt af Fætterskab i Aanden!

¹⁶Den Store Danske, Gyldendahls åbne encyclopaedi, <http://www.denstoredanske.dk>.

¹⁷WSV IV: 193.

¹⁸Grinde 2003: 74.

¹⁹Ibid. 124.

²⁰Among the general public, Heiberg was better known as a poet and dramatist: his vaudevilles were exceedingly popular with the audiences and frequently performed in Denmark and Norway.

²¹WSV I: 103.

For J. L. Heiberg

My mother is the daughter of a Cammermeyer,
and he was married to your father's aunt;
and believe me, among my mother's relatives,
to me this lady is the most intriguing.
I expect, that you can guess my line of thought:
she makes you, through the flesh, my cousin.

Oh, I wish you found, when here you are probing [my work]
just a few glimpses of cousin-kinship in spirit!

In return, Heiberg sent Welhaven one of his papers attached to the following poem:²²

Til Johan Welhaven

Høilig velsignet være Cammermeyer,
fordi han ægtede min Faders Tante!
I Norges Dæmring har han sat en Plante,
hvis unge Rodskud vinder Lysets Seier.

Highly blessed be Cammermeyer,
because he wedded my father's aunt!
In "Norway's Dawn" he has seeded a plant,
whose young root-sucker conquers the light.

Enthused by this praise from Heiberg, Welhaven writes to his brother-in-law Michael Sars that, "Professor Joh. Lud. Heiberg is seemingly particularly enthusiastic about my humble person, he has also recently sent me one of his papers with a small poem as a greeting. . . . It is natural, that this recognition in the highest degree must be pleasing to me, who, until now, have only been received with disapproval and [with] bigoted people's continuous attack."²³ As poet and critic, Heiberg advocated good taste and beauty, a strict adherence to form, and measured restraint of passionate feelings. He hated the formless, raw, and uneducated, and his newsletter *Kjøbenhavns flyvende Post* [Copenhagen's Flying Post] in particular aroused Kjerulf's, although never Welhaven's, fear of being judged as a dilettante.

Heiberg further emphasized that poetry was a profession which had to be learned, indeed

²²WSV I: 335.

²³"Professor Joh. Lud. Heiberg skal især være entusiastisk for min ringe person, han har ogsaa nylig sendt mig et af sine skrifter med et lille digt som hilsen. . . . Det er naturligt, at denne anerkjendelse i høieste grad maa behage meg, der hidtil kun har prøvet miskjendelse og bornerede menneskers idelige angreb" (WSV V: 50).

which required a lifelong study. He scorned those who argued that while artists in general needed a thorough education, poets and critics did not.²⁴ Welhaven and Kjerulf – who also admired Heiberg, and quite early on set his *Barcarole* to music – fully shared his view. In a letter to an old friend, Kjerulf writes: “You write poetry? and why not? ... I have also written poetry. We are dilettantes, because in order to be an artist one needs more than a little talent – it takes half a life of study.”²⁵ And Welhaven, formulating his Schilleresque notions, tells Wergeland that,

[Only] through studies, through harmonic development of the mental faculties is true freedom of art achieved, and through this process is the true genius revealed, in that it profoundly acquires the gained treasures, is completely penetrated by them and therefore builds the wondrous union of the ideal and the individual. It thereby creates a kind of *higher* instinct, that is to say an inner infallibility, which guides the artist securely towards the goal for his endeavors, and prevents him from sinking and succumbing to rawness and indomitability.^{26,27}

Heiberg praised the creative process in writing, the enjoyment of bringing out beauty and harmony of words in the simplest possible way. He also firmly believed that a poem was perfect if, and only if, it obeyed all the poetic rules and did so flawlessly.²⁸ Welhaven, who strove for beauty through form and inner harmony, shared Heiberg’s views: “The true nature and aspiration of art is therefore a striving for beautiful forms, and the delight a work of art bestows in clarity, truth, and liveliness, etc., depends only on its flawless form.”²⁹ Welhaven also shared Heiberg’s view that philosophy was the science that was closest to literature, and the one that literature most urgently needed to “reproduce and reveal its essence.”³⁰

²⁴Løchen 1900: 115.

²⁵“De skriver Vers? og hvorfor ikke det?....jeg har ogsaa skrevet Vers. Vi ere Dilletanter, thi for aa være Kunstner hører der mere til en lidt Talent - dertil hører at halvt Livs Studium” (letter to John Peterssen, Oct. 1838, Ms fol. 3579, Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo).

²⁶“Gjennem Studium, gennem en harmonisk Udvikling af Sjele-Evnerne naaes Kunstens egentlige Frihed, og under denne Proces aabenbarer sig just den sande Genius derved, at den paa det inderligste tilegner sig de erhvervede Skatte, gennemtrænges helt af dem og danner saaledes den underbare Forening af det Ideale og det Individuelle; og herved opstaar et Slags *høiere* Instinkt, det vil sige en indre Infallibilitet, der leder Kunstneren sikkert mod Maalet for hans Stræben, og gjør ham det umuligt at synke ned til Raahed og Ubændighed” (*Henr. Wergeland’s Poetics and Polemics*, WSV III: 79-80; Gumpert 1990: 26).

²⁷Løchen writes that to Welhaven *rawness* meant a lack of an inner sense, which above all acted like an artistic faculty (1900: 200).

²⁸Ibid. 121-123.

²⁹“Kunstens egentlige Væsen og Virken er derfor en Stræben mod skønne Former, og den Nydelse, et Kunstverk skjenker ved Klarhed, Sandhed og Livlighed o.s.v., skyldes ene den fuldende Form” (WSV III: 81).

³⁰Welhaven and Heiberg disagreed regarding religion, which Heiberg claimed was for the “unconditioned,” e.g., common man and a relic in the world of the conditioned, while Welhaven argued that philosophy and religion are identical (letter to H. L. Martensen, WSV V: 295).

After Heiberg's death in 1860, his widow sent Welhaven, whom she described as vain and arrogant, yet "this gifted man,"³¹ her husband's collected works. Welhaven replied: "I was his apprentice. . . . Every leaf of these writings reminds me of what I owe to him."³²

Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller: As mentioned, Welhaven was a romantic in imagery and a classicist in form. In addition to Heiberg's aesthetics, he adhered to the classical aesthetics of Schiller, who advocated harmony, balance, order, objectivity, and the idealization of beauty. In his late, "Notes in Connection with a Critique of the Author's [Welhaven's] Poems" in 1860, Welhaven discusses Schiller's *Über Matthissons Gedichte*, which Gumpert calls the real *locus classicus* of classic nature-poetry theory.³³ In *Some Remarks by J.S. Welhaven*, he writes:

One of the most interesting works on "the importance and limits of nature poetry" is Schiller's thesis: *Über Matthissons Gedichte*. . . . Schiller has, with a keen eye, emphasized the new stance that both landscape painting and nature poetry, in their most intimate relation to each other, should assume. Schiller wants the poet, through a "symbolic operation" to transform the depiction of nature into something human.³⁴

Imperative to both Schiller and Welhaven is the poet's objectivity; his descriptions of nature must evoke the same feeling in *all* his readers. He continues:

Here the poetics should express the important characteristics, and leave further interpretation to the reader's imagination.³⁵

To make this happen, the poet must extinguish his own individuality and come to stand for "all people."³⁶ This was Welhaven's main critique of his antagonist Wergeland who, being a true Jena Romantic, was wholly subjective, introspective and passionate – as in his jumping from one metaphor to the next in a line of thought that would be abhorrent to classically trained readers, and Welhaven in particular.

³¹Seip 2004: 239

³²"Jeg var hans Lærling ... Ethvert Blad af disse Skrifter minder mig om hvad jeg skylder ham" (WSV V: 359).

³³Gumpert in Aarnes and Grøtvedt 1990: 50.

³⁴"Et af de interessanteste Skrifter om Natur-Skildringens Betydning og Grændser er Schillers Afhandling *Über Matthissons Gedichte*. . . . Schiller har med sikkert Blik udhævet den nye Plads, som baade Landskabsmaleriet og Landskabspoesien, i nøieste Forhold til hinanden, skulde indtage. Schiller vil, at Digteren ved en 'symbolisk Operasjon' skal forvandle Natur-Billedet til noget Menneskelig" (WSV IV: 423).

³⁵"Her skal Poesien udhæve det betegnende Væsentlige, og overlade den videre Udførelse til Læserens Fantasi" (ibid).

³⁶Gumpert in Aarnes and Grøtvedt 1900: 51-52.

Schiller and Welhaven also shared the belief that art was educational; its task was to beautify and edify, thus making man freer, better, and more fulfilled.³⁷ In the second letter of his *Letters upon the Aesthetic Education of Man*, Schiller writes: “for art is the daughter of freedom, and it requires its prescriptions and rules to be furnished by the necessity of spirits and not by that of matter,” adding, “I hope that I shall succeed in convincing you that this matter of art is less foreign to the needs than to the tastes of our age; nay, that, to arrive at a solution even in the political problem, the road of aesthetics must be pursued, because it is through beauty that we arrive at freedom.”³⁸ Welhaven writes: “[But] art is one of the most salient means to this [the free state’s] spiritual development. It dispels crudeness, which is freedom’s worst enemy, it causes every noble seed in the soul to blossom.”³⁹ In *Norges Dæmring*, and also in his small treatise *Christianias vinter-og sommer-dvale* [Christiania’s Winter- and Summer Torpor], Welhaven points to art’s capability to ennoble and unite people: “Through its pure humanity, [art] reconciles the contending parties and passions . . . and is as well a necessity for man’s noble aspirations.”⁴⁰ (It could certainly be argued that in the case of Welhaven and Wergeland, art did not reconcile “contending parties”; quite the contrary. Jæger writes that, “No one has caused so much strife for the sake of peace, and no one so much discord in the name of harmony as Welhaven.”⁴¹) Echoing Schiller, Welhaven further maintains that “One must not forget that the highest goal of art, and consequently also that of poetry, is beauty, that is to say, that the ideal pervades and connects the different notions, that it stands purely embodied before our eyes and bestows on us a clear and invigorating perspective.”⁴²

In a reply to a critique of his poems in the newspaper *Aftenbladet*, Welhaven writes: “Why have reflection and poetry been pitted against each other, although the former must be contained in the latter? Schiller has in his theory already pointed to their union, and with his own poetry asserted his view.”⁴³ As the Welhaven expert Hauge asserts, to Welhaven

³⁷Gumpert 1990: 33.

³⁸Modern History Sourcebook, Friederich Von Schiller (1759-1805): *Letters upon the Aesthetic Education of Man*, 1794 <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/schiller-education.html>.

³⁹“[Men] Kunsten er et af de kraftigste Midler til denne [den frie stats] Aandsutvikling. Den forjager Raaheden, der er Frihedens værste Fiende, den bringer enhver ædel Spire i Sjelen til Blomstring” (Knudsen 1955: 9).

⁴⁰“Ved sin rene Menneskelighed forsoner den [kunsten] de stridende Partier og Lidenskaber, . . . ligesom den er en Nødvendighedsartikel for Menneskets ædlere Trang og Higen” (ibid. 6).

⁴¹“Ingen har vagt saa megen ufred for fredens skyld, ingen saa megen disharmoni i harmoniens navn som Welhaven” (Jæger, vol. 2, 1896: 133).

⁴²“Man glemme dog ikke at Kunstens og derfor ogsaa Poesiens høieste Formaal er Skjønhed, det vil sige, at det Ideale saaledes gennemtrænger og forbinder de vekslede Forestillinger, at det i en reen Støbning staar levendegjort for vort Blik og skjenker os en klar og kvægende Beskuelse.” (From *Henr. Wergeland’s Poetics and Polemics* (WSV III: 79).)

⁴³“Hvorfor har man stillet Reflexion og Digtning mod hinanden, skjønt dog den første maa være indeholdt

thought and poetics were inseparable; he equated a “poem’s spirit” to “a liberated thought,” and this, in essence, was the core of Welhaven’s aesthetics.⁴⁴

In his 1794 review of Friedrich Matthisson’s poems Schiller writes:

Every lovely harmony of form, tone, and light which delights the aesthetic sense, equally satisfies the moral one; every continuity with which lines in space and tones in time join together is a natural symbol of the inner concordance of the spirit with itself and of the inner coherence of action and feeling; and in the beautiful aspect [*Haltung*] of a pictorial image or musical composition is painted the still more beautiful one of a morally regulated soul.⁴⁵

[Jene liebliche Harmonie der Gestalten, der Töne und des Lichts, die den ästhetischen Sinn entzückt, befriedigt jetzt zugleich den moralischen; jene Stetigkeit, mit der sich die Linien im Raum oder die Töne in der Zeit aneinander fügen, ist ein natürliches Symbol der innern Übereinstimmung des Gemüts mit sich selbst und des sittlichen Zusammenhangs der Handlungen und Gefühle, und in der schönen Haltung eines pittoresken oder musikalischen Stücks malt sich die noch schönere einer sittlich gestimmten Seele.]

Schiller’s words appropriately summarize Kjerulf and Welhaven’s aesthetics.

Romantic poetry

The Romantic movement was launched in literature with Goethe, and found its first center in Jena during the 1790s. Romantic poets shunned the objective, idealistic, and rule-laden world of the Classicists, including the perfection of classical beauty, which Schlegel felt was unattainable in his day, and replaced it by an emotional, subjective, and introspective “imperfect” poetics, with breaking the classical rules as the norm. (To Schlegel, modern art, being more dynamical than classical, could no longer be perfect, only “interesting,” hence the beautiful and perfect had to be replaced by the “imperfect.”⁴⁶) In his *Athenäum*, fragment 116, Schlegel claimed that romantic poetry is *Universalpoesie*, a blending of all poetic forms, epic, lyric, and dramatic, and that it makes poetry “lively and sociable, and life and society poetic.” He further states that, “It embraces everything that is only poetic, from the greatest systems of art – themselves containing yet further systems – to the sigh

i den sidste? Allerede Schiller har i Theorien peget paa deres Enhed, og ved sin egen Poesi hævdet sin Anskuelse” (WSV IV: 419).

⁴⁴Beyer, Hauge, and Bø, 1995: 293.

⁴⁵Quote from Charles Rosen, *The Romantic Generation*, 6th ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003) 130.

⁴⁶Ibid. 50.

or the kiss that the poetizing child breathes out in artless song”; the latter Daverio equates with *Naturpoesie*. Schlegel continues, “there is no other form better suited to expressing the author’s spirit completely . . . [Romantic poetry] alone, like the epic, can become a mirror of the whole surrounding world, an image of the age.”⁴⁷ Schlegel further insisted that allegory is the center of modern poetry, since only allegory can express the inexpressible, a means of gaining access to the infinite.⁴⁸

The Romantics venerated the imaginary realm as opposed to the real world, including night over day, moonlight (which Jean Paul called the wonderful light of the spirit) over sunshine, and the sublime over the beautiful; their imagery was filled with the fabulous, strange, mythical, and archaic, and also with the naive and folklike. Landscape painting, which replaced historical and religious painting of earlier generations, was their model of inspiration. To the Romantic poet, landscape paintings were saturated with memory – the Romantic poet’s greatest trope – and as well symbolized distance, absence, separation, and the remote, a remembrance of a happy past and what could have been but never was.

Landscapes also could symbolize separation from the beloved, e.g., Beethoven’s “ferne Geliebte” and Welhaven’s Ida, but distance also could evoke a unification with the beloved through memories that the landscape evoked,⁴⁹ a frequent theme in Welhaven’s poetry. Goethe comments on himself as a romantic versus classical poet:

The idea of the distinction between classical and romantic poetry, which is now spread over the whole world, and occasion so many quarrels and divisions, came originally from Schiller and myself. I laid down the maxim of objective treatment in poetry, and would allow no other; but Schiller, who worked quite in the subjective way, deemed his own fashion the right one, and to defend himself against me, wrote the treatise upon *Naive and Sentimental Poetry*. He proved to me that I myself, against my will, was romantic, and that my *Iphigenia*, through the predominance of sentiment, was by no means so classical and so much in the antique spirit as some people supposed.

The Schlegels took up this idea, and carried it further, so that it has now been diffused over the whole world; and everybody talks about Classicism and Romanticism – of which nobody thought fifty years ago.⁵⁰

⁴⁷John Daverio, *Nineteenth-Century Music and the German Romantic Ideology* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1993) 155-156.

⁴⁸Ibid. 99.

⁴⁹Rosen, 2003: 174-175.

⁵⁰Quote from Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Conversations with Goethe with Eckerman and Soret*, transl. by John Oxenford (London: George Bell & Sons, 1875) 467.

[Der Begriff von classischer und romantischer Poesie, der jetzt über die ganze Welt geht und so viel Streit und Spaltungen verursacht, fuhr Goethe fort, ist ursprünglich von mir und Schiller ausgegangen. Ich hatte in der Poesie die Maxime des objectiven Verfahrens, und wollte nur dieses gelten lassen. Schiller aber, der ganz subjectiv wirkte, heilt seine Art für die rechte, und, um sich gegen mir zu wehren, schrieb er den Aufsatz über naive und sentimentale Dichtung. Er bewies mir, dass ich selber, wider Willen, romantisch sey, und meine *Iphigenie*, durch das Vorwalten der Empfindung, keineswegs so classisch und im antiken Sinne sey, als man vielleicht glauben möchte.

Die Schlegel ergriffen die Idee und trieben sie weiter, so dass sie sich denn jetzt über die ganze Welt ausgedehnt hat, und nun jederman von Classicismus und Romanticismus redet, woran vor funfzig Jahren niemand dachte.]⁵¹

Welhaven belonged to both the classical and romantic camps. His obsession with form, his objectivity, his firm belief that the objective of all art was beauty, and his use of nature as consolation for grief (to Welhaven, mountains, valleys, brooks, wells, and tarns were soothing) place him firmly in the Classical school. On the other hand, aspects of his Romantic imagery, in particular his portrayal of lost love and yearning for his beloved; his landscape descriptions; his lonely wanderer who can only find peace in remote parts of nature; and his use of folklore, the mysterious, hidden, supernatural, and mythical, all place him among the Romantics. I return to Welhaven's poetics in the context of the Kjerulf's Romances in Chapters 3 and 4.

Romantic song

Two important new compositional genres emerged with Romanticism: the character piece for piano and the *Lied*. In particular, the elevation of the song from a minor genre performed in the house to its acceptance in the concert hall lent this form of vocal music a significance that had hitherto been reserved for opera and oratorio.

As Charles Rosen points out,⁵² landscape poetry was a chief inspiration in the development of the *Lied*, giving a lyrical expression to nature, as in the rustling of leaves, bird song, a river's run, and distant echoes. For lyrical expression to arise, music and poetry had to fuse; music had to be elevated to the same level as poetry. This coalescence occurred in the German *Lied*, the compositional style that Schubert so masterfully realized, and that Kjerulf initially aimed at imitating.

⁵¹Johan Peter Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*, zweiter Teil (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1830) 203-204.

⁵²Ibid. 125.

The Romantic Nationalist movements in Europe soon encouraged an infusion of folklore and folk music in poetry and music, as would happen in the works of Welhaven and Kjerulf. At the same time, in contradistinction to earlier ages when music was transmitted aurally and only rarely attributed to a specific composer, well-known composers began writing sophisticated “folk music,” e.g., Chopin his Mazurkas and Liszt the Hungarian Rhapsodies. Notably, composers did not restrict themselves to their own national styles. Both Chopin and Liszt wrote in the Spanish and Italian idiom, among others.⁵³ Kjerulf followed suit by setting five texts from the *Spanisches Liederbuch* and writing French Chansons, in addition to composing a number of character pieces for piano in the style of Norwegian folk dances.⁵⁴

Even though Romantic composers mainly adhered to simple melodies and four-bar phrases, the form was often enhanced by piano preludes and postludes of uneven length, the prelude establishing tonality, motives, and melodic material, as well as setting the atmosphere of each song. A kind of open form, often beginning on the mediant and proceeding in circular fashion with the singer’s melody growing directly out of the piano line or vice versa, was an important resource. Also popular were lyrical melodies resembling folk tunes or hymnody and dance rhythms and grace-note ornamentation.

New and highly Romantic was the use of tone color as an element of form, i.e., a wide use of dynamics, varied texture, the use of sustained pedal, declamatory melodic writing, onomatopoeia, and extension of the vocal range. In particular, Schubert would often employ the duality of major and minor keys in conjunction with modulation and thematic contrast to depict dream states versus harsh reality, or to depict a happy past versus an unhappy present.⁵⁵ As Chapters 3 and 4 discuss, Kjerulf used nearly all the above features in his setting of Welhaven’s poems.

The Norwegian art song

The development of the art song in Norway came later and took a different path than in the rest of Europe. While Schubert wrote his over 600 *Lieder* between 1815 and 1828 – the year of his death – Kjerulf’s transformation of the German *Lied* into the Norwegian Romance did not take place until around 1840. Grinde, in both private communication and in his latest biography on Kjerulf, defines the romance as follows:

In Germany at the end of the 18th century the word *Romanze* was used for simple Singspiel songs. During the Romantic era the *Lied* became the common

⁵³Ibid. 411.

⁵⁴Grinde 2003: 319-320.

⁵⁵William Kinderman, “Schubert’s Tragic Perspective,” in *Schubert: Critical and Analytical Studies*, Walter Frisch, ed. (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 1986) 65-83.

word for romantic songs with piano accompaniment. Also *Romanze* was used from time to time, preferably for simple songs, e.g., Brahms's *Romanzen aus L. Tiecks Magelone*, Opus 22.⁵⁶

Some words should be added about the romance. Kjerulf himself uses both “romances,” “songs,” and “ballads” when he talks about, and publishes, such compositions. In Norway people use “songs” and “romances” interchangeably. However, there is a certain difference between the two notions. While “songs” mean any vocal melody with or without accompaniment, the romances are always accompanied, and nearly always by the piano. There is also a conscious relationship between the text and the music, and the accompaniment is usually elaborate. ... In the genuine romance there is a “division of labor” between the vocal part and the piano part in that both contribute to the interpretation of the text, e.g., the piano is “commenting” or “interpreting” certain parts of the text, or the accompaniment gives a more general description of the content or background of the romance and leaves the singer to give a more direct interpretation of the text.⁵⁷

Peculiar to the development of the art song in Norway, however, is the order of events. The first Norwegian art song was not written in the Austro-German Romantic style, but was an imitation of a Norwegian folk-tune composed fifteen years *before* Kjerulf wrote his first romance.

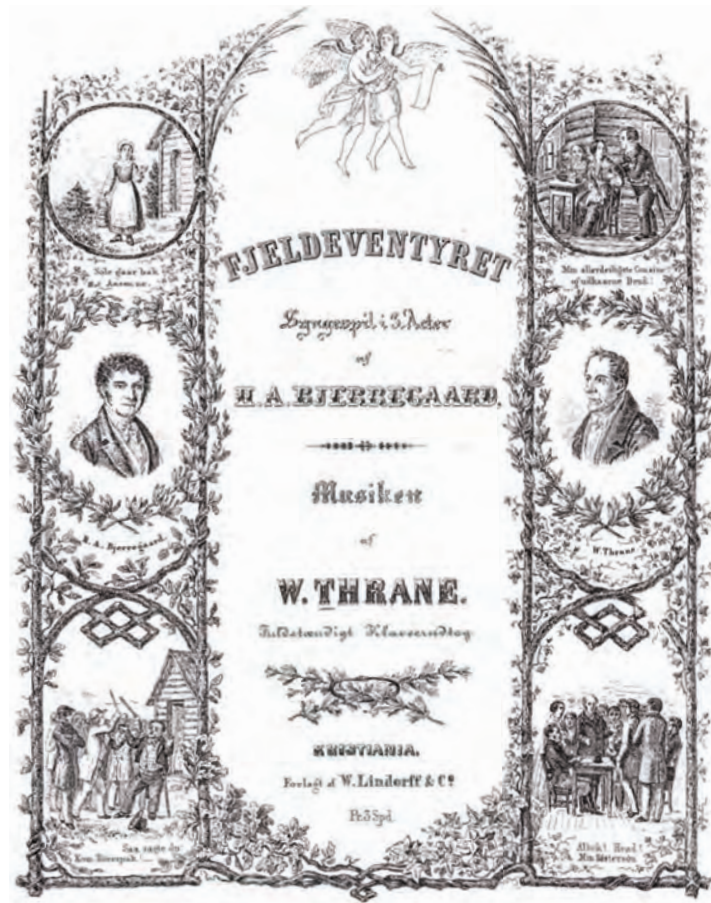
In 1825, the young violinist and composer Waldemar Thrane wrote a Singspiel, *Fjeldeventyret* [The Mountain Adventure], portraying a group of young students who take to the mountains and encounter the local people. The students speak Danish, the stage language at the time, while the peasants speak Norwegian, a stage language that the Danophile audience, Kjerulf and Welhaven included, found barbaric. The Nationalist audience, on the other hand, loved the new trend.

Thrane's music to *Fjeldeventyret* was in the light vaudeville style of the time, with the noteworthy exception of the shepherdess' beautiful *Mountain song*, which is written in the style of a Norwegian folk tune. (This song is still widely sung in Norway.) Unfortunately, Thrane died shortly after having finished *Fjeldeventyret* and the beginning of a National Norwegian art song tradition died temporarily with him. His *Mountain Song* is regarded as the first serious attempt at creating Norwegian art music based on Norwegian folk music traditions.⁵⁸

⁵⁶Grinde 2003: 300, note 86. Grinde's translation.

⁵⁷Ibid. 52. Grinde's translation.

⁵⁸Ibid. 48.



Cover page of Waldemar Thrane's *Fjeldeventyret* [The Mountain Adventure], illustrating scenes from the vaudeville, as well as portraits of the librettist, H.J. Bjerregaard (left center), and Thrane (right center).

The Danophiles and the Norwegian Nationalists were two distinct audiences in Norway in the 1820s; like their conservative counterparts in England and the United States, the Danophiles regarded German art music as the highest musical form and wanted Norway to emulate the best in the European tradition. The Nationalists, on the other hand, wanted to abolish foreign influences. Opposed to the Danophiles, the Nationalists wanted to rid the Norwegian theaters of the Danish language and actors altogether, and hold all performances in the vernacular. The main problem they faced was that there was not, at the time, a written Norwegian language; it was still an oral tongue.⁵⁹ In addition, they abhorred the refined German classical style and wanted to return to their Norwegian roots, including, in music, folk song and fiddle music. Although a majority of the Danophiles belonged to the

⁵⁹Henrik Ibsen was one of the first authors to write in the oral tongue, a language that was called Dano-Norwegian *koiné*, and which developed in the 1860s. The first Norwegian dictionary, however, was not issued until 1907.

social elite, a steadily growing number of educated people, politicians, and most painters were staunch Nationalists.

The most influential Norwegian nationalist musician was the violinist and composer Ole Bull, who toured Europe and the United States for nearly 50 years, starting in the mid-1830's. Particularly when in America, he began to mix his classical repertory with Norwegian folk music. In Bull's view, the music that was played and sung in the valleys and mountains in Norway could favorably be compared with the best in the European tradition. Initially, both Kjerulf and Welhaven opposed his view, but after having heard him play, they both became his warm supporters.⁶⁰ Welhaven even wrote a poem in Bull's honor, *Til Ole Bull* [For Ole Bull] in 1838, which Kjerulf set to music in connection with a banquet for the violinist in 1844.⁶¹

Han stod og lytted en Sommerkveld,
og havde stemt sine Strænge,
da gik Akkorden fra Skov og Fjeld
og over duggede Enge;
og alle Strænge klang dertil
med underbare Toner,
som Droskens Kluk og Nøkkens Spil
og Suus af Birkekroner.

He stood and listened one summer evening
and had tuned his strings,
then the chord went from forest and mountain
and over dewy meadows;
and thus all the strings sounded
with wonderful notes,
like the thrushs gurgle and the water-sprites play
and sighs from the tops of the birches.

Bull's improvisations on Norwegian folk tunes became extremely popular with his European and American audiences, and were momentous in spreading Norwegian folk music at home and abroad.

With the exception of the one song by Thrane, the Norwegian art song was non-existent until Kjerulf wrote his first romance, *Nøkken* [The Water Sprite], in 1840. His single-handed creation of this genre was Kjerulf's great achievement. For the next 20 years, Kjerulf was the

⁶⁰Grinde 2003: 92-93.

⁶¹Kjerulf's setting is for male choir. The song, a very early work, was never dated nor printed (Grinde 1958: 22). The poem was more famously set to music by Edvard Grieg in 1901 in connection with the unveiling of the Ole Bull statue by the sculptor Stephan Sinding in Bergen the same year.

solitary composer of Norwegian art songs. His deep love for the German *Lied* in particular and admiration for German composers in general, made it natural for him to emulate the German Romantic style. He was also, as far as is documented, the first Norwegian to study composition in Germany, and the first Norwegian composer whose romances moved from the confines of the private home and into the concert hall.

In summary, tracing the roots of Welhaven's and Kjerulf's aesthetics in their European context reveals that both poet and composer were principally adherents of the Classical school, obsessed with clarity and form, beauty, and, Welhaven in particular, poetic objectivity, the latter making his poetry devoid of passion, and repetitious in the long run. Both argued strongly for the ethical and aesthetic content of music and poetry – both should be pure and beautiful – and instill beauty in the listeners and readers. The poet and composer also shared a common view of art as educational, Welhaven through his engagement in the first art gallery and painting lottery in Christiania, and Kjerulf through his pioneering of the *Subscription Concerts*. Both wanted people to see and hear the best.

As I will show, Welhaven, although a pure Classicist in form, employed both classic and romantic imagery in his poetry. His use of nature as consolation for grief places him among the Classicists, while his use of mystical, mythical, and archaic themes derived from folklore, the sagas, and Norse mythology, plus his portrayal of lost love and yearning for his beloved, places him within the Romantic school.

Kjerulf also, as the next chapters bring out, adheres to a mixture of both schools – he is a Classicist in his use of clear forms, a small vocal and dynamic range, and only exceptionally declamatory writing; however, his texture, use of keys, tone colors, his occasional directional and wandering tonality, and propensity to conclude on the mediant place him within the Romantics.

Chapter 3

The Early Welhaven Romances: 1841-1849

The Welhaven poetry that Kjerulf chose to set to music reveals much about his character. The poems, as well as the settings, are mild-mannered, low-voiced elegies – songs about longing and lost love – and descriptions of nature. The songs portray Kjerulf’s sensitive mind, his controlled, cultivated manners, and his love of both the German Lied and Norwegian folk music. Similarly, the poems provide an excellent example of Welhaven’s poetic style, his obsession with form, and his adherence to the German Romantic trends in poetry.

As my Master’s thesis showed, the early Welhaven songs belong to Kjerulf’s “trial and error” period, the period before he received formal education in music theory and composition. Welhaven was Kjerulf’s main influence in his early development as a composer; 17 of the 28 songs he wrote from 1841 to 1849 were set to texts by Welhaven. Despite loving his poems, Kjerulf struggled immensely with compositional technique, setting the first eight of his Welhaven romances 18 times and still deciding not to publish more than half of them. I have, however, included all these romances here, since they help in tracing how Kjerulf matured as a composer over time. I have also incorporated important events in the life of the composer and poet to shed light on the background for their works, including where and when the works were performed and published, and how they were received by his audiences and critics.



Halvdan Kerjulf's Opus 1,
Christiania, 1841.

1. Nøkken [The Water Sprite] HK 13¹

Kjerulf's first Welhaven song *Nøkken*, written in the German *Lied* style, occupies a special place in his production of Norwegian romances and indeed in the entire Kjerulf–Welhaven collaboration. *Nøkken*, composed ca. 1840, was printed in Welhaven's first collection of poems in 1838, and published in Kjerulf's first collection of songs, *Sex Sange med Accompaniment af Pianoforte* [*Six Songs with Pianoforte Accompaniment*] as his Opus 1, no. 1 in 1841. With its beautiful melodic line and strong sensitivity to the text, *Nøkken* presented to contemporary audiences the first Norwegian song written in the new Romantic idiom.

Nøkken is Welhaven's first poem with a main motif derived from folklore. In a later essay from 1851, *Vasdrag og Skovmarker* [Waterways and Forestry – two words not found in Danish], he writes: “What strange power the running forest brook has over the mind! To walk alone by its bank or along the shaded waters is to fall into dreamlike thoughts, and thereafter to calm down the depth of one's soul; to stop and listen to its [the brook's] murmur is to have touched the chords of sadness without being able to interpret them. . . . Influenced by the above, the poetic spirit of the folk created the water sprite with its futile longing and melancholy harp playing.”^{2,3}

Usually the water sprite, or water troll, is both dangerous and tantalizing; for Welhaven, however, the motif is erotic: Welhaven's water sprite is mourning his lost love, his harp is playing the tenderest serenade, and dew drops are falling like tears from the nearby trees in response to his sobs:

Jeg lagde mit Øre til Kildens Bred,
og lytted til Nøkkens Sange;
og Egnen hvilte i stille Fred,
og Dagen led,
og Skyggerne blev lange.

I placed my ear at the spring's edge,
and listened to the water elf's songs,
the country-side rested in quiet peace,
the day was passing,
and the shadows were getting longer.

¹The Halfdan Kjerulf (HK) number listed after each song is taken from Grinde's catalog of Kjerulf's songs, first published in his dissertation, *En Halfdan Kjerulf-biografi* [A Halfdan Kjerulf Biography] in 1954, and later in *Halfdan Kjerulfs Samlede Romanser* [Halfdan Kjerulf's Collected Romances], I & II, in 1977.

²“Hvilken forunderlig Magt over Sindets Stemninger har den rislende Skovstrøm! At færdes ensom paa dens Bred eller paa den overskyggede Vande er at falde i drømmende Tanker, og derpaa stilne hen i sit Inderste; at standse lyttende til dens Brusen er at have grepet Vemodens Akkorder uden at kunne finde deres Løsning. . . . Under denne Paavirkning har Folkedigtningens Aand dannet Nøkken med den frugtesløse Længsel og det sørgmodige Strængespil (WSV IV: 224-225).

³“Nøkken”, well known in Northern European folklore, was a popular topic in romantic ballad poetry, e.g., Arvid A. Afzelius' romance *Necken*, Johannes Ewald's *it Little Gunver*, *Der Wassernix* by Justinus Kerner, and *The Mermaid* by William Motherwell. Also, Johan Heiberg treated the motive in *Little Kirsten* (Hauge, WSV I: 347; II: 463).

Man siger, at Nøkken er
fri og glad,
og danser paa Kiselstenen;
men Fuglen hører bag Birkens Blad
hans Vemodskvad,
og vugger sig taus paa Grenen.

Naar Skumring hviler paa Fjeld
og Vang,
og lukker al Verdens Munde,
da nynner han først sin bedste Sang;
hans Nat er lang:
han kan ei hvile og blunde.

Jeg hørte ham hulke, mens Aftnens
Skjær
svandt hen bag de dunkle Skove.
Da trillede Duggen fra alle Træ'r,
der stode nær
og skyggede den klare Vove.

Hans Harpe spilled med dæmpet Streng
den ømmeste Serenade:
"God Nat, min Rose! Ak, til din Seng,
fra Skov og Eng,
gaa Drømmenes Alfer glade.

Du aander og gløder saa skjær og varm,
og ved ei, hvad jeg maa friste.
Jeg døver min Sorrig i Sus og Larm;
men ak, min Barm
vil aldrig dit Billed miste!"

One says that the water sprite is
free and happy,
and dances on the gravel stones;
but behind the birch leaves the bird
hears his melancholy song
and rocks on the limb in silence.

When twilight rests on mountain
and field,
and silences everyone's mouth,
he starts humming his loveliest song;
his night is long,
he cannot rest or sleep.

I heard him sob while the evening
glow
disappeared behind the dark forests;
then dew dripped from all the trees
that stood nearby
and dimmed the clear brooklet.

His harp is playing with dampened strings
the loveliest serenade:
"Good night, my rose, ah! to your bed
from forest and field
the happy dream fairies are coming.

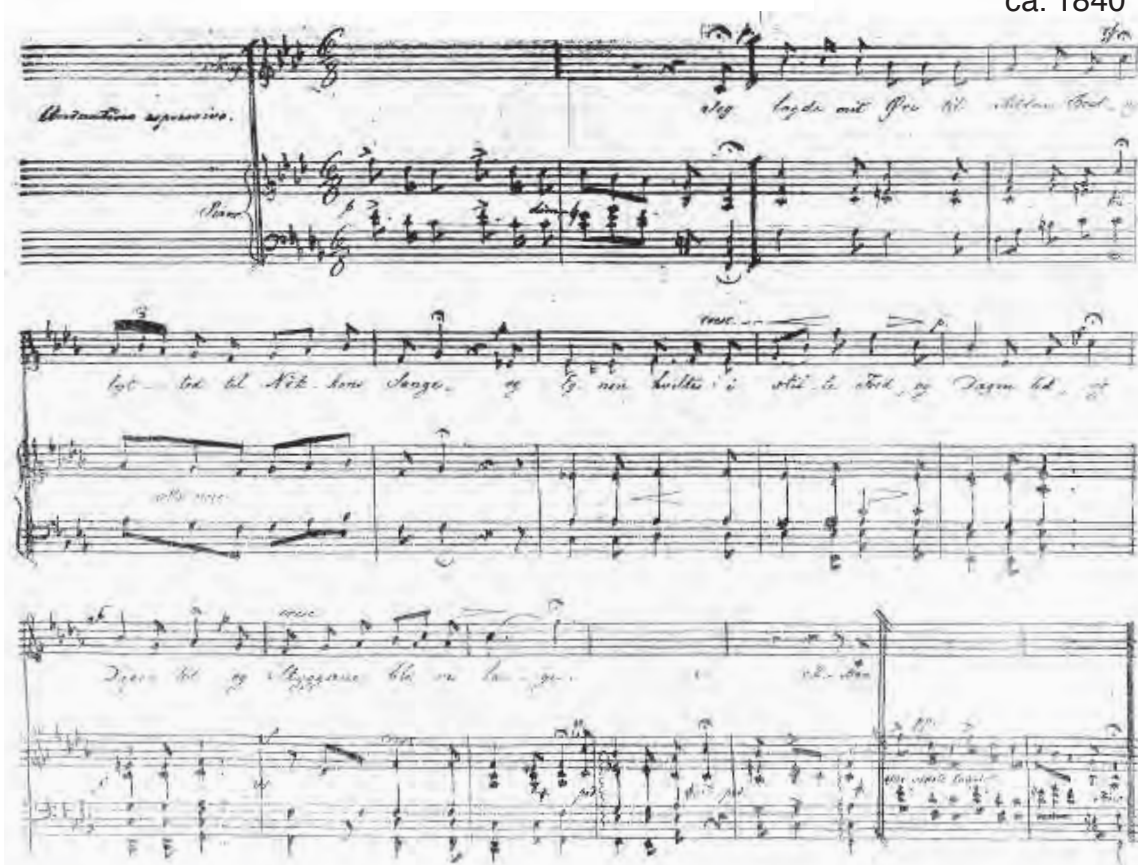
You breathe and glow so light and warm,
and do not know how I must suffer.
I quench my sorrows in a whirl of pleasures,
but, alas, your picture,
will always stay in my heart."

Nøkken is filled with Romantic imagery: nature (mountains, fields, forests, a birch grove, a spring, a brooklet), the lonely wanderer, twilight (day moving into night), supernatural beings (the water sprite, dream fairies), a bird, a harp, the unhappy protagonist (the water sprite himself), melancholy songs, tears, suffering and sorrow, and love that never dies.

The original version of *Nøkken* is in F minor and written in compound meter (Example 1). The romance's weaknesses are evident. The two-measure introduction sounds unfinished and amateurish, and the forced rhythmic character suggests a failed attempt at imitating folk music. Furthermore, the strong cadential ending creates a discontinuity that makes the romance come to a halt before it has really begun. The voice line is intrinsically beautiful,

Nøkken

ca. 1840



Kjerulf's original score of *Nøkken*. In Kungliga Musikalska Akademiens Bibliotek, Stockholm, copy in Norsk Musikkksamling, Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo, 6987: 582.

but Kjerulf's first version contains a number of fermatas and accents which needlessly disrupt the melodic flow. The accompaniment, written in the popular musical comedy style of the time, characterized by a simple accompaniment and use of unison chords,⁴ has no life of its own; it is mainly a chordal repetition of the melodic line, sometimes reduced to hollow unison sonorities. The postlude, although picking up previous material, nevertheless sounds like it has been added more for decoration than for substance.

Although the romance was received with enthusiasm by its immediate audience – mainly family and friends – Kjerulf, at least in retrospect, was not satisfied with the result. In a letter to his brother Hjalmar in August 1845 he writes: "With a sigh I confess the lesson that I have

⁴Benestad, Grinde, and Herresthal 2000: 304.

Nøkken

ca. 1840

Andantino con molto espressione

Jeg lag - de mit Ø - re til Kildens Bred, og lyt - ted til Nøkkens

colla voce

San - ge; og Eg - nen hvil - te i stil - le Fred, og Da - gen led, og Da - gen led og

Skyggerne ble - ve lan - ge

2. Man Efter sidste Couplet poco rallent.

Example 1. Transcription of the original *Nøkken* score, Kjerulf's Opus 1, No. 1. In Grinde 1977/I: 237.

learned by sending a premature, erred, dilettante work into the world.”⁵ That Kjerulf's first attempt at writing a romance was not perfect, and further, that he was not satisfied with the result, is not surprising, given that he had not received any formal music education at this stage in his career. After having received lessons in harmony and composition, he revised the romance twice, in 1854 and 1855, moving from what Grinde calls “a sing-spiel ballad” to “a real romance,”⁶ by making the accompaniment more elaborate and complementary to the voice.

In his revisions of *Nøkken* in 1854 and 1855 (Example 1a), Kjerulf kept the original strophic setting and the basic melodic line, with its beautiful modulation to the relative major in the mid-section and return to the opening F# minor key at the end of the stanza. He also rewrote the postlude so that the last line of text and the first two measures of the postlude constitute an arch – the ultimate text line moves upward (by default, the voice ends

⁵“Ak jeg har høstet dyre Lærepenge ved at kaste et umodent, forfeilet, dilettantisk Arbeide i Verden” (Moe 1917: 113).

⁶Grinde 2003: 79.

Nøkken

Andantino moderato 1855

Jeg lag - de mit Ø - re til Kil - dens Bred, og
 Man si - ger, at Nøk - ken er fri og glad, og
 Ich leg - te mein Ohr an des Ba - ches Rand, der
 Man sagt wohl, der Nix, der sei froh und reich, und

lyt - ted til Nøk - kens San - ge, og Eg - nen hvil - te i
 dand - ser paa Ki - sel - ste - nen; men Fug - len hø - rer bag
 Fluss - geist dort sang sei - ne Lie - der, den Frie - den rings schon die
 tan - ze auf Kie - sel - stei - nen, doch hört der Vo - gel im

stil - le Fred, og Da - gen led, og Da - gen led, og
 Bir - kens Blad, hans Ve - mods - kvad, hans Ve - mods - kvad, og
 Ge - gend fand, der Tag schon schwand, der Tag schon schwand, und
 Bir - ken - zweig, so weh - muths - reich, so weh - muths - reich, sein

Example 1a. The 1855 version of *Nøkken* [The Water Sprite]. Page 1.

9

Skyg - ger - ne ble - ve lan - ge.
 vug - ger sig taus paa Gre - nen.
 Dun - kel sich senk - te nie - der.
 Lied, wenn die Ster - ne schei - nen.

dolente p

12

Nøkken [The Water Sprite]. Page 2.

on the high F[#]), and the beginning of the coda moves downward, as the music continues to flow.

Similarly, he thoroughly revised the accompaniment. Instead of simply following the melodic line in a chordal fashion, the piano now moves more independently of the voice, a feature typical of Kjerulf's later style. The rhythmic flow is improved, and Kjerulf's much beloved pedal points and propensity for thirds, open fifths, and octaves become evident.

Although the six-stanza poem is set strophically, the melody portrays the sentiment of the text surprisingly well. The minor/major/minor shifts, from the gloomy key of F[#] minor to its calm relief in A major and back, often reflect a change of sentiment or an exclamation in Welhaven's text, i.e., from the inward minor, "I placed my ear at the edge of the spring, and listened to the water sprite's song," to the outward major, "the country-side rested in quiet peace." Similarly, "the day was passing" in major is first perceived as positive because it is tied to the quiet peace, then in minor as negative due to the fact that the shadows are getting longer and the night is following:

First stanza	Key
I placed my ear at the edge of the spring,	F \sharp minor
and listened to the water elf's songs,	
the country-side rested in quiet peace,	A major
the day was passing,	
the day was passing,	F \sharp minor
and the shadows were getting longer.	

This musical and textual dichotomy is a typical Romantic trait, and illustrates Kjerulf's ties to the German Lieder tradition of Schubert and Schumann. Interestingly, Kjerulf's songs do not, however, parallel Schubert's characteristic expressive duality, in which lyrical material in the major is associated with wish-fulfillment or dream-like psychological states, and dramatic material in the minor with realistic and often threatening phenomena. Instead, he occasionally switches between major and minor when describing sentiments, like in *The Water Sprite*, or he flattens the submediant in a major key, a feature he borrows from Norwegian folk music.

Unlike the tendency of many Romantic composers to tear a poem apart, Kjerulf treats Welhaven's lyrics with utmost respect. The only departure he allows himself is a repetition of the fourth text line, where the melody shifts back to minor. The repetition does not seem at odds with the poetry; instead it gives the text a deeper meaning as well as acting like a preparation for the textual conclusion, which Kjerulf reiterates in a subtle manner, with the last two measures of the postlude forming a repetition of the last melodic line. He thereby allows the last line of text to linger silently in the listener's mind: "the shadows are getting longer," "he cannot rest or sleep," "will always stay in my heart." To underscore the sorrowful mood, the postlude is marked *dolente*.

The 1855 version of *The Water Sprite* was not printed until 1867,⁷ but we can assume that it circulated among his family and friends, e.g., the Lasson family, who gathered regularly for house concerts.. *The Water Sprite*, in its final version, remains among Kjerulf's most popular romances.

⁷On 15 Dec. 1867 Kjerulf writes in his diary that a new edition of *Nøkken* had been published by the Norwegian publishing firm Warmuth (today the Norsk Musikkforlag) and printed in Copenhagen.



The Laurvig (today's Larvik) Choral Society's Evening Entertainment of 28 November 1858, with performance of *Nøkken* in a setting for soloist and choir. Note the usual mixture of songs, instrumental music, and choral works, plus several pieces by unspecified composers, all performed by amateurs.

2. Bernart af Ventadour HK 21

When Welhaven's second collection of poems, *Nyere Digte* [Newer Poems], was published in November 1844, Kjerulf writes enthusiastically to his brother: "Victoria! The new poems were published 6 days ago and are selling like crazy. ... Every decent person is walking around with the book in hand, it seems to make a furor." A well known-lawyer in Christiania exclaimed, according to Kjerulf: "Welhaven is without peer, these poems are even better than the previous ones. They are warmer, clearer, the language is purer... ." ⁸ *Nyere Digte* was Kjerulf's favorite Welhaven poetry collection. He attempted to set no fewer than ten of its poems between 1843 and 1849. ⁹

Welhaven was also pleased with his new poetry collection, which he had dedicated to Hjalmar in recognition of his love for him and Hjalmar's love for his poetry. Welhaven tells Hjalmar, "Your satisfaction with the poems that I sent you is worth more to me than that of the general public's," ¹⁰ and added that he had Hjalmar in mind in selecting them for publication: "With the publication of these poems I think first and foremost of you. In everything I have thought and written I have asked myself how you will perceive it, and therefore this production belongs to you in particular, and will be yours before anyone else's." ¹¹ Just after the release of *Nyere Digte*, Welhaven writes to Hjalmar that his poems are now in people's hands, but have so far left no trace among the general public. However, among the narrow circle that he regards as his forum, the book was a sensation and far exceeded his expectations. ¹²

Nyere Digte includes the ballad *Troubadouren*, which Kjerulf had just set to music as *Bernart af Ventadour*. According to Grinde, ¹³ the ballad was composed in 1843, but Welhaven, who now lived at the Kjerulf residence, had likely given this poem, as well as the next two Kjerulf would set – *Elveløbet* [The River's Run] HK 22 and *Veiviseren synger* [The Mountain Wanderer Sings] HK 23 – to the composer before publishing them, since all the Kjerulf brothers were eager to read Welhaven's latest works. ¹⁴

⁸"Victoria! De nyere Digte ere udkomne for 6 Dage siden og gaae af med rivende Fart. ... Alle skikkelige Mennesker have Bogen i Haanden, og den gjør furore, som det lader. ... Welhaven er dog mageløs, hed det, disse Digte ere endnu bedre end de forrige. De ere varmere, klarere, Sproget er renere ..." (Moe 1917: 64-65).

⁹HK 21, 22, 23, 29, 30, 32, 35, 39, 41, and 42 are all from *Nyere Digte*.

¹⁰"Deres Tilfredshed med de Digte, jeg har sendt Dem, er mig mere værd end et heelt Publikums" (WSV V: 187-188).

¹¹"Med Udgivelsen av disse Digte tænker jeg fremdels allermeest paa Dem. Under Alt hvad jeg der har tænkt og skrevet har jeg spurgt mig selv hvorledes De vil optage det, og derfor tilhører denne Produktion Dem som en synderlig Ting, og vil være hos Dem fremfor hos nogen Anden" (ibid).

¹²WSV V: 199.

¹³1977: 239.

¹⁴Interestingly, according to Welhaven, Kjerulf's brother, the law student Axel, was the most eager to

The ballad – a story told in four-line stanzas – is named after the famous 12th century French troubadour, Bernart de Ventadour (more famously known as Bernart de Ventadorn), whose poetry is regarded as the finest in the Provençal language. The poem reflects the interest of 19th century romantic poets in medieval poetry in general, as well as Welhaven’s love for France and its art.¹⁵ The poem pretends to tell Bernart’s own story, the melancholy tale of a troubadour who carries a withered rose close to his heart. He sings to noblewomen about his heart’s aspirations and dreams, but, contrary to what they believe, his beautiful song is not inspired by the words coming from their red lips, but from his lost love, symbolized by the withered rose.

Kjerulf’s setting has the form *ABCC'B'A'*, plus coda (Example 2). The eight-measure introduction *A* in *A^b* major consists of four two-measure phrases where certain pitches, primarily the first in each measure, are marked with *sforzando* and others are arpeggiated, giving the prelude an improvised, harp-like character.

The *B* section, marked *dolce* and *piano*, begins the ballad; Bernart is standing “in a hall of green linden trees” singing to the noble ladies about “the heart’s dream and hope,” turning their lily-white cheeks rosy red:

En Hal af grønne Linde stod luunt ved Borgens Muur. Til Harpen sang derinde Bernart af Ventadour.	A hall of green linden trees stood sheltered near the castle wall. To his harp sang inside Bernart af Ventadour.
Han sang for ædle Kvinder om Hjertets Drøm og Haab, der over Liliekinder kan gyde Rosendaab.	He sang to noble ladies about the heart’s dream and hope, which could turn lily-white cheeks into rosy red.
Han fik fra Læber røde de søde Smigerord, og hvide Hænder strøde om Harpen Somrens Flor.	He heard from red lips sweet flattering words, and white hands strew summer flowers around his harp.

The first short stanza ends on the dominant. As would become Kjerulf’s wont, he repeats the two last lines of text and brings the stanza to a conclusion on the tonic. The accompaniment in this stanza and throughout the ballad is dominated by arpeggios reinforced by arpeggiated chords emulating Bernart’s harp.

At the beginning of the second stanza and the first *C* section, Kjerulf abruptly moves

read his new poems (WSV V: 193).

¹⁵Løchen 1900: 261.

Bernart af Ventadour

Andantino moderato

p dolce cantabile

4

7

p dolce

En Hal af grøn - ne

dim.

p

The musical score is written for voice and piano. It begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The tempo is marked 'Andantino moderato'. The first system (measures 1-3) features a piano introduction with a melody in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The second system (measures 4-6) continues the piano accompaniment. The third system (measures 7-9) introduces the vocal line with the lyrics 'En Hal af grøn - ne'. The piano accompaniment in the third system is marked 'dim.' and 'p'.

Example 2. *Bernart af Ventadour*. Page 1.

10

Lin - de stod lunt ved Bor - gens Muur. Til

rit.

13

Har - pen sang der - in - de Ber - nart af Ven - ta -

16

dour, til Har - pen sang der - in - de

rit. *cresc.*

19

Ber - nart af Ven - ta - dour. Han sang for æd - le

p *p dolce*

Bernart af Ventadour. Page 2.

22

Kvin - der om Hjer - tets Drøm og Haab, der

25

o - ver Li - lie - kin - der kan gy - de Ro - sen -

28

daab. Han fik fra Læ - ber rø - de de

31

sø - de Smi - ger - ord, og hvi - de Hæn - der

34 *rit.*

strø - de om Har - pen Som - rens Flor.

37 *a tempo dolce*

Da kvad han blidt og sag - te: »Det

40 *rit.*

var ei Blom - sters Pragt, det var ei Ros, der

43 *p dolce*

vak - te de dy - be To - ners Magt. Men

col canto *ben espress.*

46 *ben espress.*

naar jeg Har - pen stem - mer, den hvi - ler Hjer - tet nær,

pp

49

og Trou - ba - dou - ren gjem - mer en

pp

52 *rit. a tempo*

vis - net Ro - se - der.»

pp *sempre pp*

55 *dim. e rallent.*

fp *pp*

to F minor, the relative minor, the same modulation pattern as in *Nøkken*. The dream and hope of Bernart's heart is set to a dominant seventh chord moving to an elongated major dominant chord in F minor to accentuate the protagonist's aspirations (ms. 23-24); the two last text lines of the stanza are back in A^b major.

The third stanza, describing the ladies' flattering words, is a repetition of the *C* section, with the exception of the last line of text – the ladies sprinkling flowers around Bernart's harp – where the arpeggios are replaced by an upward octaval motion in the left hand alternating with a chordal downward motion in the right, concluding on a strong cadence in C minor (m. 36) marked by a *fermata*. Here the voice silences in preparation for the last two stanzas and the somber conclusion: the troubadour's beautiful playing is not induced by the ladies' praise, but by the withered rose:

Da kvad han blidt og sagte:
 “Det var ei Blomsters Pragt,
 det var ei Ros, der vakte
 de dybe Toners Magt.”

Then he sang sweet and gentle:
 “It was neither beautiful flowers
 nor was it flattery that induced
 the power of the melancholy tunes.”

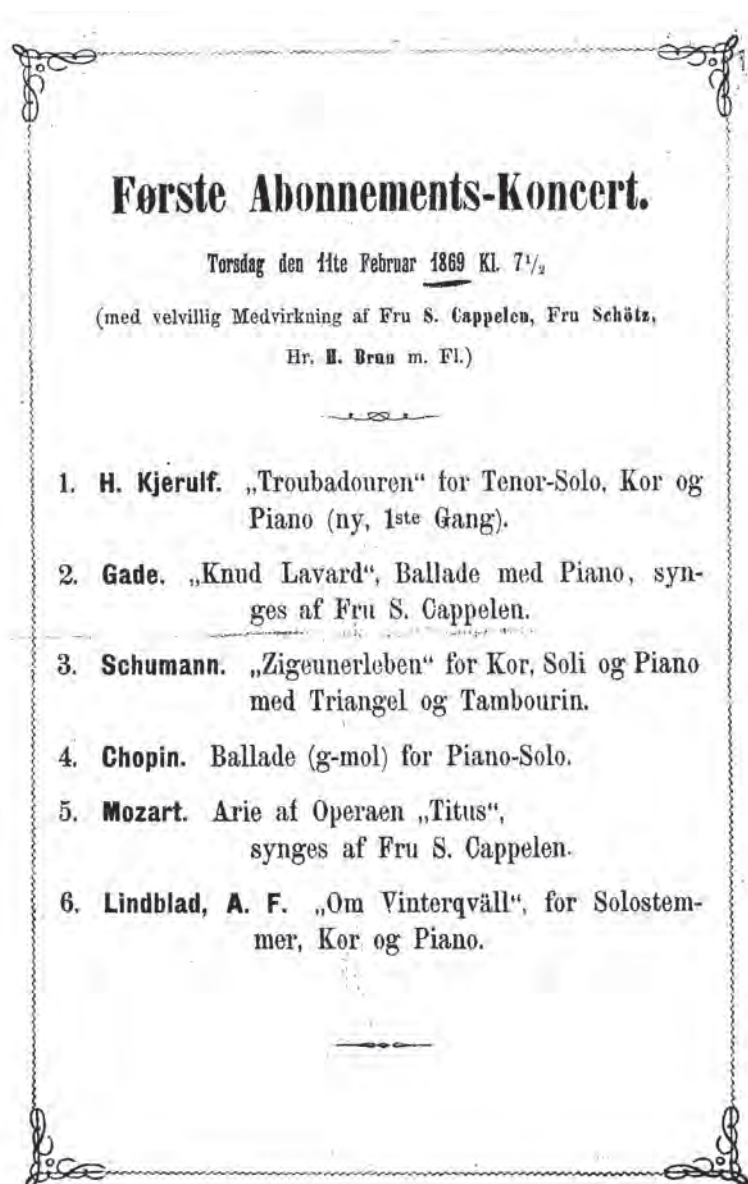
“Men naar jeg Harpen stemmer,
 den hviler Hjertet nær,
 og Troubadouren gjemmer
 en visnet Rose der.”

“When I strum the harp
 it rests near the heart,
 and the troubadour hides
 a withered rose there.”

The conclusion of the third stanza in C minor is followed by a V⁷ chord in B^b major, which is also marked by a *fermata*, the latter leading into a V⁷ chord and V chord in E^b major, and from there, directly to a V⁷ chord in A^b major – also marked by a *fermata* – which begins the fourth stanza. The stanza is set as a varied repetition of the *B* section; however, instead of moving to F minor after the second line of text, here in measure 41, the accompaniment moves to a V⁷ chord in B^b major and then paraphrases measure 37, making a transition back to A^b major. Another change from the earlier *B* section is the triplets in the vocal line in the penultimate measure 44.

The last stanza is based on the opening eight measures and set as a duet between the voice and the piano, the voice imitating the opening second, fourth, sixth, and eighth measures of the prelude or *A* section, while the piano is portraying the strumming harp in all but the last measure of the vocal line, where the strumming is replaced by gentle arpeggios to accentuate the words, “a withered rose there.” The ballad concludes with a five measure coda in *pianissimo* with the exception of a diminished chord marked *sforzando* and *fortepiano*, to remind the listener of Bernart's lost love.

In *Bernart af Ventadour* Kjerulf makes use of a number of features common to German romantic *Lieder*: emphasis on third relationships, silences, heightened expressivity, rapidly varying dynamics, voice exchange, and onomatopoeia, or descriptive music, e.g., the troubadour's harp.



Første Abonnements-Koncert.

Torsdag den 14te Februar 1869 Kl. 7½

(med velvillig Medvirkning af Fru S. Cappelen, Fru Schütz,
Hr. H. Brau m. Fl.)

1. **H. Kjerulf.** „Troubadouren“ for Tenor-Solo, Kor og Piano (ny, 1ste Gang).
2. **Gade.** „Knud Lavard“, Ballade med Piano, synges af Fru S. Cappelen.
3. **Schumann.** „Zigeunerleben“ for Kor, Soli og Piano med Triangel og Tambourin.
4. **Chopin.** Ballade (g-mol) for Piano-Solo.
5. **Mozart.** Arie af Operaen „Titus“, synges af Fru S. Cappelen.
6. **Lindblad, A. F.** „Om Vinterqväll“, for Solostemmer, Kor og Piano.

The last version of *Bernart af Ventadour*, here called *Troubadouren*, for tenor solo, choir, and piano, presented in the first subscription concert in 1869, together with works by Chopin, Mozart, Schumann, Gade, and Lindblad.

Kjerulf never published the ballad in its original form.¹⁶ This is somewhat surprising, since *Bernart af Ventadour* was his first through-composed setting and represented a novelty among his works. He may have reached the conclusion, however, that his sweet melodic line did not adequately convey the text's melancholy sentiment. Six months before his death in 1868, Kjerulf revised the song, setting it this time for voice and choir. He wrote in his diary: "February 9. My music for the 'Troubadour' by Welhaven, written for solo voice and choir accompanied by pianoforte, set as a ballad, is ready in draft form today. It is quite short, as the poem does not permit an elaborate treatment."¹⁷ The work was first performed nearly to the day one year later, on 11 February 1869, and was repeated at "Edvard Grieg's Concert in Memory of Halfdan Kjerulf" on 13 April the same year.¹⁸

¹⁶This setting of *Bernart af Ventadour* was first printed in a collection of posthumous romances, *5 Efterladte Romancer*, in 1911 (Grinde 1956: 56).

¹⁷"Min Komposition til 'Trubaduren' af Welhaven for Solo og Chor med Pianoforte i Balladeform er idag færdig i Udkast. Den er ganske kort, da Digtet ikke vil tillade nogen bredere Behandling" (Kjerulf's unpublished diaries, 9 Feb. 1868).

¹⁸The romance was published by Kjerulf's Swedish publisher Abraham Hirsch as Opus 17. No. 1 of Kjerulf's posthumous works in 1868.

3. Elveløbet [The River's Run] HK 22

Welhaven's poem *Elveløbet* belongs to the "Ida poems," a group of poems that display his deep love for the composer's sister, mostly devoted to her memory, e.g., *Alfernes hvysken* [The Elves' Whisper] and *En Sommersang* [A Summer Song] from his first collection,¹⁹ and *Elveløbet* [The River's Run], *Stille Liv* [Quiet Life], and *En Vaarnat* [A Spring Night] from his second collection.²⁰ These poems were not written until many years after Ida's death, her memory having caused Welhaven too much pain. Løcken writes: "Everywhere he had walked, in the bright spring or the rain-laden fall, her image had passed through the landscape."²¹

Living with the Kjerulf family, and with Hjalmar in particular, brought great consolation to Welhaven, since Hjalmar reminded him deeply of Ida. However, in the late spring of 1844, Hjalmar left for Germany to study art. Although Welhaven strongly supported his decision, he missed him profoundly: "You – perhaps without knowing it – have alleviated my deepest, incurable pain. In your features, and in many of your expressions I saw a reflection of the happiness that I forever have lost, and everything that I loved in you as your own, thereby acquired increased magnificence," Welhaven writes in his first letter to Hjalmar, dated 7 June 1844.²²

Welhaven's poem is highly romantic and atmospheric with its vivid description of nature, alternating moods, and self-referential content. The opening four stanzas portray the fate of a glittering, gushing river, which is curbed by its predestined course to slow down as it widens out and runs into a dark valley where "the balming sun cannot shine," turning day into eternal evening, and "where the barren mountain casts its threatening black shadow into the river from bank to bank." The last two stanzas describe the poet, who, walking along the river on a summer's day, contemplates the river's surface movements and its dark

¹⁹Løcken, 1900: 370-373.

²⁰Knudsen, 1955: 102; Hauge, WSV II: 306.

²¹"Overalt hvor han havde vandret i den lyse vaar eller i den regntunge høst, var hendes skikkelse gledet gjennem landskabet" (1900: 451).

²²"De – maaskee uden at vide det – lindret min dybeste, ulægelige Smerte. I Deres Træk, og i saa mangen Yttring af Deres Væsen saae jeg Gjenskin af den Livslykke, jeg for stedse har tabt, og Alt hvad jeg elskede hos Dem som Deres Eget, fik derved en forhøiet Herlighed" (WSV V: 156). Welhaven, who called himself a reluctant letter writer, wrote no fewer than 29 letters to Hjalmar before he passed away in Germany in the spring of 1847. His first letter ended with a plea: "Oh, be careful – and let me even say it one more time: I have no one but you." ["O, vær forsigtig – og lad mig endnu engang sige det: Jeg har Ingen uden Dem."] His last letter ended with his accepting Hjalmar's imminent death: "My dearest beloved Hjalmar! I sigh to God and ask him to make your soul cheerful in the hope that is life's life and the light of incorruption. I kiss your forehead, I hold your head in my hands – you are with me for ever –" ["Min inderligt elskede Hjalmar! Jeg sukker til Gud og beder ham gjøre din Sjæl glad i det Haab, som er Livets Liv og Uforkrænkelighedens Lys. – Jeg kysser din Pande, jeg holder dit Hoved i mine Hænder – Du er hos mig alle Dage –"] (WSV V: 156; 264).

course as a portrait of his own life:

Jeg gik ved Elven en Sommerdag
og kom til de lave Enge.
Der banked dens Bryst med
mattere Slag,
der stod jeg ved Bredden længe,
hvor Fjeldet strakte sit Skyggetag.

I walked along the river on a summer's day
and reached the low fields.
There the river's heart was beating
more slowly.
I lingered at length by the river bank,
under the mountain's dark shadow.

Jeg kan ei glemme den dæpede Sang
af Bølger og Aspeblade.
Min Sjæl har fulgt med Vandenes Gang
og bævet som Elvens Flade,
og Hjertets Harpe har givet Klang.

I cannot forget the soft song
of waves and aspen leaves.
My soul has followed the flow of the water
and trembled like the river's surface,
and my heart's strings have portrayed its sound.

Kjerulf set the first, second, and the fifth verse of the poem's six stanzas to music in 1843.²³ His reason for leaving out the remaining three was presumably that his vocal line did not fit the opening line of these stanzas. However, the vocal line does not, in fact, perfectly fit the stanzas he chose to set either, forcing him to adopt a modified version of the vocal line for the second and third verse. It is surprising, but as explained below, understandable that Kjerulf left out these three stanzas, despite the beauty of the lyrics. By not setting the entire text, however, he neglected the important symbolism in Welhaven's poem, which reflects the poet's life, a fact Welhaven confirmed in a reply to four articles in the newspaper *Aftenbladet*, with the title *Welhavens Digte* [Welhaven's Poems] in 1860. He writes, "The river's run is a lyric poem . . . [it] portrays life, . . . every part of my description corresponds to the innate symbolic character . . . of a certain life situation."²⁴

Instead Kjerulf focused on the actual *run* of the river: the triplets in the opening and closing measures in the accompaniment, the small range of the voice, and the diatonic character of the melody, all allude to the smooth flow of the water. The more lively, vivid patterns associated with flowing water in Schubert's songs are not in evidence here. Kjerulf's choice of an almost trivial melody in E-major, infused with dotted quarter notes and grace notes, accompanied by subservient chords, evades the painful undertone contained in the poem. Presumably the composer did not want to confront the deeper sentiments of the lyrics. A closer subjective self-identification might have raised intolerably sore issues.

The 1843 version begins with a five measure double-dotted introduction, which sounds

²³Grinde 1977: 239.

²⁴"Elveløbet er et Stemningsdigt . . . [det] betegner levnetsløbet, . . . ethvert Træk af min Skildring svarer til den iboende symboliske Betydning . . . af en vis Livstilstand" (WSV IV: 423).

more like a postlude than a prelude. This is not an illusion, since the introduction is a paraphrased repetition of the postlude (Example 3.)

In the 1848-49 version, revised after Kjerulf's first professional lessons in music theory and harmonization, the introduction is reduced to one measure of octave triplets leading directly into the voice part. Similarly, the coda is reduced from seven measures of descending repetitive material to five measures of octave triplets, now acting like a pedal over a three-measure coda. The coda ends melodically not on the root but on the third, a romantic feature that Kjerulf returns to in a number of works during this period. He also removed the rather forced rhythmic figure that so plagued the first version. The voice part and the accompaniment, on the other hand, underwent only minor changes (Example 3a).

In 1844, Kjerulf set the last two stanzas of *Elveløbet* to music under a different title: *Jeg gik ved Elven en Sommerdag* [I walked along the river on a summer's day] – the opening line of the fifth stanza (Example 3b). The reason for the separate setting is not known, but it is possible to perceive these two stanzas as autonomous. Nevertheless, he did not compose new music for the melancholy conclusion of the poem, causing the music to sound less befitting than ever.²⁵ (The only discrepancy between the full version and the shorter one is that the latter has no introduction.)

Kjerulf clearly did not acknowledge that *Elveløbet* – with its strong sense of resignation and surrender to one's fate – was written by a poet whose life was in ruins after the loss of Ida. Not setting the entire text of *Elveløbet* at once, and not reflecting in his music the tragedy of the poet and his sister, he was seemingly oblivious to the poetic mirroring of Welhaven's life situation. One can only conclude that the composer was deeply troubled psychologically and had repressed his emotions and feelings of guilt after his sister's death. After all, he had taken his parents' side against Welhaven, which devastated Ida. This conclusion is underlined by the fact that Kjerulf does not mention Ida in any of his extant letters or dedicate any of his romances to her posthumously, not even a setting of a poem which he must have known was written in her memory. Indeed, Grinde has found nothing in the Kjerulf sources to suggest that Kjerulf had perceived *Elveløbet*, or any other poems, as tied to Ida.²⁶

Instead, Kjerulf dedicated *Elveløbet* to his beloved aunt Julie Lasson, his mother's sister, whose life also resembled the river's run in Welhaven's poem, although differently than that

²⁵The romance is listed as HK 30 in Grinde's chronology, but was never published (Grinde 1977: 239; 1956: 23).

²⁶Grinde 2002, private communication. Herresthal and Dinslage, similarly, do not mention any connection to Ida in their discussion of *Elveløbet*. Instead they call attention to the sensitive interpretation of the text and the song's flowing movement, descriptive of the river's sun (1998: 28).

Elveløbet

Original prelude:



Original postlude:



Example 3. *Elveløbet* [The River's Run] Original prelude and postlude, 1843 version (Grinde 1977/I: 239-40).

Elveløbet

Andante sostenuto

1. El - ven er al - drig saa kjæk og
 1. Sind auch die Flüs - se so strö - mend
 2. bie - get sich sanft in die tie - fe

3
 strid, den kan dog sin Art for - an - dre. Hvor
 wild, nicht im - mer die - sel - ben sie blei - ben. Im
 Bucht, mit lei - se glei - ten - den Wo - gen; der

6
 Da - len aab - ner sig lav og sid, maa den lem - fæl - digt
 Tha - le sind sie der Ru - he Bild, still wird das wil - de
 dor - ni - ge Zweig mit der ärm - li - chen Frucht, hat sich dar - ob ge -

Example 3a. *Elveløbet* [The River's Run]. Revised 1848-49 version. Page 1.

9

van - dre, standse sin Larm og gi - ve sig Tid.
Trei - ben. Lang - sam gehts und still und mild.
bo - gen! Ru - he wal - tet in en - ger Bucht.

mp *p*

sempre pp il basso

12

2. Den
3. Jeg
2. Er
3. O

fp

15

2. gaaer til - si - de og sky - der Bugt, med sag - te gli - den - de
3. gik ved El - ven en Som - mer - dag, og kom - til de la - ve
3. Fluss, ich sah dich am Som - mer - tag, durch Sümp - fe sah ich dich

Elveløbet [The River's Run]. Page 2.

18

Vo - ver; den tor - ne - de Green med den fat - ti - ge Frugt
 En - ge. Der ban - ked dens Bryst med mat - te - re Slag, der
 ei - len. Dort klop - te dein Herz mit mat - te - rem Schlag, am

21

stræk - ker sig der - ud - o - ver! Da - len er stil - le og
 stod jeg ved Bred - den læn - ge, hvor Fjel - det stræk - te sit
 U - fer mus - ste ich wei - len, wo dūs - te - re Schat - ten dar -

24

in - de - lukt.
 Skyg - ge - tag.
 ü - ber lag.

27

sempre pp il basso

Jeg gik langs Elven en Sommerdag



Example 3b. *Jeg gik ved Elven en Sommerdag* [I walked along the river on a summer's day], the fifth and sixth stanzas of *Elveløbet*, dated *Bakkehuset i Christiania*, 14. June 1844.

of the poet's.²⁷ Julie had a beautiful voice and loved to perform her nephew's songs. In addition, the two were very close, and corresponded frequently. Upon receiving the score, she writes: "Thank you very much, my own dear Halfdan, for the music that you sent me; I am very grateful for your songs, and always sing them with equal interest."²⁸

In his *curriculum vitae* from June 1865, Kjerulf writes: "In 1841 I published a songbook that I soon realized had a number of serious shortcomings; first in 1851-52 did I publish my first work of musical substance, my second collection of romances and songs with pianoforte."²⁹ Kjerulf included the revised version of *Elveløbet* in this collection, a measure of his satisfaction with the work.

It is surprising that Kjerulf regarded *Elveløbet* as a work of substance. The romance is weaker and less original than *Bernart af Ventadour*, which he decided not to publish. When the romance was first performed on 4 December 1851, Kjerulf, who attended the concert, wrote sardonically in his diary: "Recital by Miss [Cathrine!] Blom in Logesalen. Tolerably

²⁷Julie Lasson, only eight years Halfdan's senior, never married and was consequently forced to live with her old, autocratic father, who outlived most of his children.

²⁸"Mange Tak min egen kjære Halfdan for tilsendte Noder, jeg er meget glad i at have faaet Dine Sange, og synger dem altid med lige megen Interesse" (Hansson 1962: 21).

²⁹"Jeg udgav i 1841 et sanghefte, for hvis mangehaande mangler jeg snart fik øynene op, og jeg fremkom først 1851-52 med mit første ordentlige musikalske Arbeide, 2de Hefte Romancer og Sange med Pianoforte" (Dinslage and Herresthal 1998: 19).

well attended. ...Romances with forte piano: *The River's Run* transposed to G. *In the Mountains*, both accompanied by Sperati and performed quite well – but no applause (what I am used to – as a fact, to none!)”³⁰ The critic in the local newspaper the next day was more sympathetic than the general audience: “In particular, we want to stress the sensitive and heartfelt manner in which she [Miss Blom] sang the two pretty, truly national romances by H. Kjerulf to Welhaven’s poems, *The River's Run* and *In the Mountain*.”³¹ However, a critical review in the Christiania newspaper *Morgenbladet* six years later did not display much sympathy for the two romances. I return to this review at the end of this chapter.

Frøken Bloms Concert.

Den af Frøken Blom igaarholdt i Frimurer-
logen Sal givne Concert var usædvanlig godt be-
søgt, og Sangerinden leenedes med hyppigt og
fortjent Bisald. Hun har ingen stor men en meget
behagelig og frisk Stemme, ligesom hendes Foredrag
maa kaldes correct og smagfuldt. Den mægtige
Arie af Meyerbeers „Prephet“, hvormed hun aab-
nede Concerten, laa velstuet i det Held over hendes
Kræfter, hvilket vel og, sjøndt mindre, var Tilfæl-
det med den deilige Arie af Mozarts Titus, og dog
vidste hun med sine Midler at foredrage disse van-
stelige Sager saaledes, at de efterlode et behageligt
Indtryk hos Tilhørerne. Hvad der imidlertid mest
tiltalte os, var hendes Udførelse af mindre Roman-
zer og Sange, her var hun utvivlsomt paa sit rette
Sted. Isærdeleshed maae vi udhæve den udtryks-
fulde og hjertelige Maade hvorpaa hun sang de to
smukke, sandt nationale Romanzer af H. Kjerulf
til Welhavens Digte „Elveløbet“ og „Paa Fjeldet“.
— Concertgiverinden havde god Assistance af De-
chæstret, der udførte flere Overturer, af Hr. Svends-
sen, der hofede meget Bisald for sit Fløitespil, af
en Amatrice paa Pianoforte, og af Hr. Jensen, der
ligeledes med Held gav et Nummer for Klarinet.

Christianiaposten No. 1159, 5 December 1851: “Frøken Bloms Concert,” with review of *Elveløbet* and *Paa Fjeldet*.

³⁰ “Concert af Frøken Blom i Logesalen. Ret taaleligt besøgt. ...Romancer til Pianoforte: *Elveløbet* transponert i G. *Paa Fjeldet*, begge akkompagneret af Sperati og ret ordentlig sungne – men ingen Applaus (hvad jeg er vant til – nemlig til ingen!)” (Grinde 1990: 236.)

³¹ “Isærdeleshed maae vi udhæve den udtryksfulde og hjertelige Maade hvorpaa hun [Frøken Blom] sang de to smukke, sandt nationale Romanzer af H. Kjerulf til Welhavens Digte ‘Elveløbet’ og ‘Paa Fjeldet’” (ibid. 337).

4. Veiviseren synger [The Mountain Wanderer sings] HK 23

Veiviseren synger, one of Kjerulf's most widely-known songs, resides like a small gem in the middle of his mostly unpublished early works written between 1841 and 1845. (Grinde lists no fewer than ten unpublished songs from this period, all to texts by Welhaven.) These were liberating, yet difficult years for Kjerulf. As mentioned earlier, his father's death in 1841 gave him the freedom to quit his dreaded law studies; on the other hand, the family could no longer support him, and he had to establish himself professionally, first as a journalist and critic, and later as a piano teacher.



Example 4. *Veiviseren synger* [The Mountain Wanderer sings] as published in *Den Constitutionelle* 1 February 1844. (First half.)

Veiviseren, as it came to be called, has much in common with other works from this period: Kjerulf obtained the lyrics from Welhaven before they were published,³² set the text to music in 1843, dedicated it to his aunt Julie, and revised the romance in 1848-49 (Example 4).

The poem describes a young man's longing for the mountains in the early summer: "Come

³² *Veiviseren synger* was published in *Nyere Digte* in 1844.

with me,” he urges the reader, “away from the dark valley, to the mountain pasture where the sun is shining till late in the evening, and the cow-maiden is calling for the animals.” However, he warns that “you have to walk with your mouth closed,” since the trail passes through a dark grove where the evil spirited elves reside; here even the water sprite barely lets his harp sing. But once you have reached the mountain pasture, you hear the happy sounds of bells and *langeleik*³³ and in the *sæter* [a small summer farm] field a fair maiden is waiting.³⁴

To Welhaven, mountain air served as a metaphor for freedom of the mind and openness towards the outside, i.e., the Scandinavian countries more generally. To him, the Scandinavian spirit was filled with “Høifjeldsluft” [Mountain air]: “He, who daily wanders in the lowlands, in an enclosed space, is delighted to reach the highlands; a longing for freedom and detachment takes him there.”³⁵ As mentioned in Chapter 2, Welhaven and Kjerulf both felt strongly that the young Norwegian nation should orient itself towards its neighbors, Sweden and Denmark, and not succumb to narcissistic nationalism.

What makes this romance – Kjerulf calls it a *vise* [cf. the German *Weise*, a tune or ballad] – stand out is the composer’s skillful handling of the text, music, and accompaniment. Although the three stanzas are very different in character – the first and the last extroverted and energetic, the second introverted and hushed – Kjerulf uses the same melody for all of them. However, in the second verse he changes the accompaniment and tempo so profoundly that the romance almost sounds through-composed (a device later used by Grieg in his Norwegian dances). Furthermore, his alternate use of minor and major underscores the emotions that pervade the poem: the longing for the mountains when the cuckoo starts calling and the atmosphere of the dark grove where the elves are hiding is in E minor; the sun shining on the mountain pastures and the happy sound of bells and the cow-maidens gathering the animals in G major (Example 4a).

In the first stanza – marked *allegro moderato* – the accompaniment follows the harmonic rhythm of the melody. The eight measure prelude is divided into two parts, the first five measures are later used in elision between the stanzas and act like a ritornello, the last three are only heard in the introduction and postlude of the song. The prelude is brash and anticipatory with its opening grace notes and accentuated rhythm, features borrowed from

³³A Norwegian stringed instrument resembling a droned zither.

³⁴Hauge points out that in Welhaven’s poetry the elves come in two kinds. In *Veiviseren synger*, they are evil and have to be passed in silence; in *Af “Alfernes Hvisken”* [From “The Elves’ Whisper”] – to which I will return later since Kjerulf also set this poem to music – the elves are benevolent and whisper gently about beauty and love (1955: 39-40).

³⁵“Ja den, der færdes daglig i det Lave, paa den indskrænkede Plet, han er glad ved at komme paa Høiden; en Længsel efter Frihed og Fjernhed fører ham did” (from “Tale for Norden” [Speech for the Nordic Countries], 13 Jan. 1860, in Løchen, 1900: 405).

Veiviseren synger

Allegro moderato

mf *f*

8

Til Fjelds o - ver Byg - den staaer min Hu, naar Gjø - gen be-gyn-der at
 Der Kuckuck mich lockt nach Ber - geshöhn, die gol - dig im A - bendroth

ff *mf* *p*

12

ga - le. Kom med til Sæ - tren i - af - ten du; thi So - len skin - ner paa
 fun - keln. Komm mit hin-auf du, mein Mä - del schön, den Tag noch kannst auf der

mf

Example 4a. *Veiviseren synger* [The Mountain Wanderer sings], revised 1848 version. As usual, the revised version has few melodic changes, but differs more profoundly in the prelude and postlude sections, as well as in the accompaniment.

16

Fjeld end-nu, mens der er mørkt i Da-le, mens der er mørkt i Da-le.
 Alm du seh'n, Thä-ler schon ruh'n im Dun-kehn, Thä-ler schon ruh'n im Dun-kehn.

21

più lento
mezza voce

Der er paa Vei-en en dun-kehl Lund, hvor
 Es liegt am We-ge ein stil-ler Hain, wo

mf *p* *quasi mezza voce*

26

Al-fer-ne er' til-hu-se. Husk, der maa du gaae med luk-ket Mund. Selv
 El-fen so heim-lich hau-sen; dort musst du, mein Mä-del, stil-le sein, der

Veiviseren synger [The Mountain Wanderer sings]. Page 2.

30

Nøk-ken der-in - de la - der kun sag - te sin Har - pe bru - se,
 Nix sel - ber lässt dort leis' und fein Sai - ten der Harf' er - brau - sen,

34

Tempo I. un poco vivo

sag - te sin Har - pe bru - se.
 Sai - ten der Harf' er - brau - sen.

40

Tempo I. un poco più vivo

Men op - pe paa Fjel - det er der Klang, som gjen - ly - der i det Fjer - ne. Der
 Ein E - cho vom Fel - sen süß er - klang, wie Tö - ne von Sai - ten aus Gol - de, es

Veiviseren synger [The Mountain Wanderer sings]. Page 3.

45

klin - ger Bjæl - der og Lok - ke-sang; med Lan - ge - leg der paa Sæ - ter-vang
läu - ten Glöck - lein zum Lock - ge-sang, und tän - delnd sitzt auf dem Fel - sen-hang.

49

sid - der min fag - re Ter - ne, sid - der min fag - re Ter - ne.
Schätzchen, das schö - ne, hol - de, Schätzchen, das schö - ne, hol - de.

55

a tempo

Veiviseren synger [The Mountain Wanderer sings]. Page 4.

Norwegian folk music. These features, plus the facts that the main key is minor and the text setting syllabic throughout, gives the romance a folk-like character.

The second stanza is marked *più lento* and *mezza voce* in both the voice and piano parts. The accompaniment, which has shifted to soft arpeggiations in the right hand, depicts the quiet, dark grove that houses the elves, as well as the continuous sound of the water sprite's harp. The phrygian half cadences in the second and fifth line of the stanza (ms. 27 and 33), as well as in the repetition of the last line where the stanza ends on the dominant, represent other soft changes from the first stanza. The piano complements the voice perfectly, either following, running contrary to, or anticipating it, concluding with a soft arpeggiated tonic minor chord two measures after the voice has silenced, as if to let the harp die down quietly.

The third stanza is written in the original tempo, with *un poco più vivo* added. The accompaniment remains very similar to the opening accompaniment, however, with more contrast added. In addition, the last line of the stanza is repeated, a feature that Kjerulf frequently employs. As a further closing device, the last three syllables are repeated an octave higher, which makes this romance exceptional among his Welhaven settings in that the voice range is nearly two octaves. (The average range of all the Welhaven songs is quite narrow, just one octave and four semitones.) The romance concludes with the introduction, another common device of Kjerulf's.

Dinslage and Herresthal, who also have analyzed this work, emphasize the contrasting sentiments of the three stanzas, resulting in Kjerulf's use of a varied strophic form and his use of the phrygian cadence. They draw attention to the setting of the second verse in particular, which "brings the singer and listener into the fairy-tale world of the water sprite and the elves," with its allusion to the water sprite's harp in the accompaniment, as well as to the conclusion on the dominant, the sentimental climax of the poem.³⁶

In a letter to Welhaven, dated 9 March 1848, Kjerulf writes proudly, "it was invigorating for me to hear [from you] that [the Danish composer] Rung found my "Veiviser" [Mountain Wanderer] better than his own. Indeed, I think you wrote "much better." Hear, hear!"³⁷ Nevertheless, its success was belated. On 13 August 1859, fifteen years after he set the text to music and ten years after its revision, Kjerulf wrote in his diary that the Swedish court singer Berg, who was giving a concert in Christiania with his daughter, had looked through his manuscripts and was very pleased with what he had found. "The old, previously (in Stockholm) overlooked *Veiviseren Synger* was now a success and was mentioned as a song

³⁶Dinslage and Herresthal 1998: 28.

³⁷"det var mig en Vederkvælgelse at høre at Rung havde fundet min 'Veiviser' bedre end sin egen. Jeg tror endog De skrev 'meget bedre.' Vil man høre!" (Mohr 1946: 39.)

after the Swedish Prince Oscar's heart."³⁸ On 1 October 1859, Kjerulf rephrased the above remark in a letter his old friend, Julius Nicolaysen, an earlier member of his quartet who now lived in Stockholm: "Of greatest interest to him [Berg] were *Ved Sjøen den Mørke* [By the dark sea] and *Veiviseren Synger* (old and previously unnoticed.) He says that he [Berg] has decided to sing these himself at the concert."³⁹

The Swedish composer Ivar Hallström similarly expressed admiration for *Veiviseren synger*, with the result that Kjerulf offered to dedicate his collection of songs, Opus 6, to him with the much admired romance printed as No. 1. The dedication was received with much appreciation: "Straightforward and without any grandiloquent circumlocution I ask you to receive my sincere gratitude for the welcome and to me flattering offer to dedicate your latest song collection to me. You cannot imagine the joy that it has created in me. A real Christmas gift. Believe me, and once again receive my most heartfelt gratitude."⁴⁰

In retrospect, Kjerulf regarded *Veiviseren synger* as his first Norwegian *vise*. After having modified it in 1848, the song was published in 1859 in his Opus 6, *Otte norske viser med pianoforte* [Eight Norwegian ballads with pianoforte], No. 1.

³⁸ "Den gamle, forhen (i Stockholm) overseete *Veiviseren Synger* gjorde nu Lykke og den blev nævnt som ret en Sang for Prinds Oscar." Prince Oscar, later king of Sweden and Norway, was an outstanding orator and a lover of literature and music. He had his own male quartet, the *Prince Quartet*, and sang all of Kjerulf's romances. Kjerulf, who also had a male quartet, provided music for the *Prince Quartet* and frequently entertained at the royal palace during Prince Oscar's stays in Christiania. He also set music to two poems by the Prince's brother, King Carl XV (Kjerulf's unpublished diaries, 9 Oct. 1848).

³⁹ "Størst interesse vakte 'Ved sjøen den mørke' og 'Veiviseren Synger' (gammel og tidligere ikke paaagtet.) Disse vil han selv synge i Concerten, siger han" (Moe 1918: 228-29).

⁴⁰ "Rättfram och utan några svassande omsvep beder jag Eder emottaga min innerliga tacksamhet för det så kärkomna och för mig smickrande anbudet angående dedikationen af Edert nyaste sånghäfte. Ni kan ej fatta den glädje, Ni beredt mig derigenom. – En verklig julglädje. – Tro mig, ock emottag än en gång mina varmaste tacksägelser" (letter from Hallström, 25 Dec. 1859, in Moe 1918: 241).

5. Ved Havet [By the Sea] HK 29

In a letter to Hjalmar in September 1844, Kjerulf writes: “You are telling me about your musical pleasures in Dresden. And what do I have here? Isn’t a musician’s position here despairing? No one to consult, praise on the lips of dilettantes, no artistic circles to travel in.”⁴¹ What scared Kjerulf more than anything was being labelled a musical dilettante, the probable reason why he never published this score.

Ved Havet is the second poem in *Nyere Digte*. It is one of a number of poems in the collection that deals with contemplative quiescence and introversion, e.g., *Stille Liv* [Quiet Life] and *Hvile i Skoven* [Rest in the Woods] that Kjerulf also would set to music. The lyrics depict the poet meditating by the cliffs of the “mighty sea” where “the world [is] locked out” from the laughter and tears of daily life. Here his thoughts are mirrored by the sea and carried far away by the gently rocking waves, which have merged with the glowing colors of the sunrise in the mild morning air. He urges the sea to bring back a lingering grape, which, when turned into wine, will quench the sea’s suffering upon the return to this “closed valley of sorrows.”

The romance, which Kjerulf dedicated to his niece Marie Lasson, is in D major, compound meter, and marked *Allegretto tranquillo*. He likely intended the meter and tempo, as well as the opening static melodic line and accompaniment, which alternate between the tonic and the fifth, to allude to the slowly moving sea and early morning. In the middle of the stanza the melody moves to the relative minor, Kjerulf’s standard key modulation at the time. He then returns to the tonic, and concludes the romance with arpeggiated chords, trailed by another of his favorite devices, a descending line of thirds in the outer voices. In an attempt to make the text more expressive, the vocal line is littered with *sforzandi*, as well as with expressive comments for the performer (Example 5).

Throughout the romance the accompaniment is subservient to the melodic line, which sadly lacks its usual beauty. At no moment do the two parts have a life of their own. Furthermore, there is no glowing sunrise or sense of longing associated with the music. None of Welhaven’s thoughts are borne to sea, and the lingering grape is never brought back to the shore.

In all fairness, the asymmetric structure of *Ved Havet* renders the text difficult to set to music. Four of the six poetic lines contain different numbers of syllables, i.e., the first line 11, the second 11, third 4 or 5, fourth 6, fifth 6, and sixth 8 or 7. Consequently, the first

⁴¹ “Du fortæller om dine musikalske Glæder i Dresden. Hvad har vel jeg her hos mig? Er ikke en Musikers Stilling her fortvivlet? Ikke et Menneske at tyde hen til; Ros paa Dilettanters Læber, ingen kunstnerisk Omgang” (Moe 1917: 56).

half of the poem contains 26 or 27 syllables, the last 20 or 19, which is probably why Kjerulf chose to repeat and reiterate parts of the text – which he seldom does – to make the two halves more equal in length.

Til Frøken Marie Lasson

Ved Havet

Ordene af Welhaven
Musiken af H. Kf.

[Fra Ms. 31/13 Norsk musikksamling] [HK 29]

Allegretto Tranquillo

Ved det mæg-ti-ge Hav, hvor Kys-ten er steil, er Ver-den lukt u-de, der
Mens Bøl-ger-ne gli-de og nyn-ne der-til, kan du vug-ges og bæ-res saa
De Sy-ner, der sti-ge af Van-de-nes Skjød, vil far-ves og aan-de i
Langt u-de, hvor Pal-mer-ne mø-de dit Blik, der vox-er en Dru-e med

Fine

seer du i Speil, ved det mæg-ti-ge Hav der seer du i Speil dit Tan-ke
langt du vil, kan du vug-ges og bæ-res saa langt du vil i Tan-kens
Mor-ge-nens Glød, vil far-ves og aan-de i Mor-ge-nens Glød og re-ne-re
lin-dren-de Drik, der vox-er en Dru-e med lin-dren-de Drik for al din

Example 5. *Ved Havet* [By the Sea], transcribed by Grinde. Page 1.

13 *ben espress.*

liv. dit Tan- ke- liv. Af Ha- vet kan
 Baad, i Tan- kens Baad. Ja, langt fra de
 Luft, og re- ne-re Luft. Ja, Fjel- de og
 Kval, for al din Kval. O, bring den til-

17 *ben accent poco riten. rit. sempre*

sti- ge et Læng-se- lens Ri- ge, af Ha- vet kan sti- ge et
 tran- ge Døgn- tum- me- lens Gan- ge, ja langt fra de tran- ge Døgn-
 Taar- ne, af Bøl- ger- ne baar- ne, ja Fjel- de og Taar- ne af
 ba- ge, naar hjem, naar hjem du maa dra- ge, o, bring den til- ba- ge naar

21 *crest. - - - - - rall. - - - - -*

læng- se- lens Ri- ge til Aan- dens tryl- len- de Bliv!
 tum- me- lens Gan- ge, med al de- res Lat- ter og Graad.
 Bøl- ger- ne baar- ne, skal svø- bes i Ro- ser- nes Duft.
 hjem du maa dra- ge til Sav- nets luk- ke- de Dal!

col canto sempre - - - - - rall. - - - - - a tempo

Ved Havet [By the Sea]. Page 2.

While *Ved Havet* was never printed, and is not included in Kjerulf's list of his own compositions, he returned to the song on several occasions later in life, as he did with nearly all of his early Welhaven settings. According to Grinde, he revised the romance – or recomposed it – during his studies with Carl Arnold in 1848-49. On 29 September 1851 he

writes to his brother Theodor that he is working on a new setting for *Ved Havet*, as he finds the old one “far too dilettantish.” The latter scores are no longer extant. During Christmas 1858 he made a final attempt at writing a new melody for Welhaven’s poem. His diary from 4 January 1859 contains the following entry: “‘By the Sea’ renamed *Duettino* by using two old melodic motives.”⁴² The duet was performed at least twice at the *Philharmonic Society*’s concerts in 1862 and 1864-65, together with works by Beethoven, Henselt, Mozart, Dupuy, Chopin, and Mendelssohn.⁴³

⁴² “‘Ved Havet’ omdøbt til *Duettino* med Benyttelse af de to gamle melodiske Motiver” (Kjerulf’s unpublished diaries, 4 Jan. 1859).

⁴³ The duet version is printed in *Fire Sange for to stemmer med pianoforte* [Four Songs for two voices with pianoforte], Opus 10, no. 1, Stockholm, 1863.

6. Stille Liv [Quiet Life] HK 32

Den ene Dag er den anden lig, Each day is like the next,
det er ensformige, stille Dage – they are monotonous, quiet days –

The Welhaven scholar Hauge remarks that *Stille Liv* represents the ideal in *Nyere Digte* [Newer Poems]; the poem is the crux of the collection:

The poem carries one picture, the chain with the precious hidden thread, which more than substitutes for the lack of visible splendor. The latter is a manifesto for the poetry collection as a whole; what makes the poems valuable is their hidden life, not what they might express outwardly in the form of splendid art. The dark backdrop for the poem's happy mood is the thought of the boredom of a superfluous life. This is a central motif in Romantic poetry, most prevalent with Tieck, [i.e., 'Die Langweile']. ... In their inner life people find everything that can make life meaningful and rich. It does not matter if the days are monotonous and dull.⁴⁴

In his New Year's letter to Hjalmar in 1845, Kjerulf cites the opening lines of Welhaven's poem *Stille Liv* and adds, "I wish I could apply the full content of this wonderful little poem with full justification to myself. Life should always be this way."⁴⁵ He continues, "I have made a rough musical draft of the poem; at this stage it is just a musical transcription of the poem's sentiment. Both Mother and Welhaven seemed profoundly taken with the melody, which is both happy and plaintive at the same time."⁴⁶

Stille Liv was never published, although Kjerulf made three attempts at setting the poem to music, the first in 1845, the next in 1851 ("I have written a quiet simple melody for 'Quiet Life'")⁴⁷ and last in 1854. It is unfortunate that only the first setting is extant, since Kjerulf listed the second and third version among his works, but not the first, despite

⁴⁴ "Diktet gjennomfører ett bilde, kjeden med den kostelige, skjulte tråd, som rikelig gir vederlag for alt som mangler i synlig prakt. Det kan stå som et program for hele diktsamlingen; det som gir diktene verdi, er deres skjulte liv, ikke det de måtte ha av synlig glimrende kunst. Den mørke bakgrunnen for lykkestemningen i diktet er tanken på kjedsommeligheten i et liv som leves på overflaten. Dette er et sentralt motiv i romantisk diktning, mest hos Tieck. ... I sitt indre liv finner mennesket alt som kan gjøre livet meningsfylt og rikt. Det er likegylding om dagene er ensformige og glansløse" (1955: 154-155).

⁴⁵ "Gid jeg ogsaa kunde med fuld Føie anvende dette deilige Digts hele øvrige Indhold paa mig. Det burde jo altid være saa" (Moe 1917: 76).

⁴⁶ "Jeg har gjort et Musikudkast til dette Digt, det er endnu ei udarbejdet, blot løst udspillet som en musikalsk Transcription of Digtets Charakter. Baade Moder og Welhaven syntes stærkt grebne af disse vedmodigt-glade Toner" (ibid.).

⁴⁷ "Til 'Stille Liv' har jeg skrevet en stille simpel Melodi" (letter to Theodor, in Moe 1918: 122).

Welhaven being pleased with it. Grinde decided not to publish the extant version among Kjerulf's complete romances, on the grounds that the composer had decided not to publish it.⁴⁸ It deserves inclusion, however, since the rejected version is a setting that Kjerulf rarely employed: a free treatment of the text with a repetition of lines and certain phrases with strong emotional content. Furthermore, his carefully notated tempo marking and opening comment, *Larghetto affettuoso*, “Quiet and emotional with rhythmic changes according to the sentiment,” show how particular he felt about how the romance should be performed. The score abounds with notations like *poco più mosso e quasi recitato*, *a tempo arioso e piacere*, *poco a poco stringendo e agitato*, *ben accentuato*.⁴⁹ (Example 6).

Stille Liv

Example 6. Excerpt from Kjerulf's unpublished romance “Stille Liv” [Quiet Life]. Page 1.

⁴⁸Kjerulf's unpublished diaries, 4 Aug. 1854.

⁴⁹The setting brings the Renaissance *prima prattica* and *stile rappresentativo* to mind, with its emphasis on text, recitative-like style, limited range, small embellishments, and chordal accompaniment.



“Stille Liv” [Quiet Life]. Page 2.

Stille Liv is also dedicated to Julie Lasson, who, as mentioned above, indeed lived a quiet life. Julie had inherited the best and worst of the family genes, a beautiful voice and a weak chest. (As Ida Kjerulf bitterly remarked in letter to her aunts in February of 1840, “How cruel of the Lord to create a whole family with coughs and a thousand weaknesses, in my opinion none of us is fit for anything.”)⁵⁰ Julie passed away in March of 1846, and, as Kjerulf sadly comments in a letter to Hjalmar, “at Julie’s funeral there was no song.”⁵¹

The Kjerulf family, whose life had slowly changed after Peder Kjerulf’s death in 1841, also lived a quiet life at this time. Their financial situation had deteriorated, and the large dinners and balls on the family estate, *Bakkehuset*, belonged to the past. It appears that Kjerulf had his aunt, as well as his mother and himself, in mind when he set the poem to music. Welhaven, on the other hand, had his beloved Ida in mind when he wrote the lyrics:

⁵⁰ “Det er grusomt af Vorherre at skabe en heel familie med Hoste og tusinde svagheder, jeg synes nu at ingen af os duer det mindste” (Moe 1917: 16).

⁵¹ Hansson 1965: 28.

Den ene Dag er den anden lig,
det er ensformige, stille Dage;
men jeg kan hilse dem uden Klage,
min Livsens Kjæde skal dog være rig.

Den lignes ei ved en Perlesnor,
hvor hvert et Led er et kostbart Smykke;
der er af min rette, dybeste Lykke
kun lidet glimrende ydre Spor.

Men Traaden, den skjulte Traad,
der gaaer
gjennem de rolige, simple Dele,
den er min Skat, mit varige Hele,
hvorved mit Hjerte af Glæde slaaer.

Each day is like the next,
they are monotonous, quiet days.
I can welcome them without complaint,
my life's chain will still be rich.

It does not resemble a string of pearls,
where each of the links is a costly jewel;
there is of my complete, deepest happiness
but few glimmering outer traces.

But the thread, the hidden thread,
that runs
through the placid, plain parts,
that is my treasure, my enduring whole,
which makes my heart beat with joy.

The absent Ida was of course the thread that lent meaning to the “monotonous, quiet days.”

7. Aftenstemning [Evening Mood] HK 35

Aftenstemning was written by a composer in love. For his part, the poet was, if not in love, at least happily content.⁵² In the spring of 1845 Welhaven decided to marry Josephine Bidoulac, a tutor, whom he had met for the first time in 1833, and the person who told him that his most recent poetry collection was the clearest and most perfectly conclusive she knew in any language.⁵³ Welhaven had always found her an interesting and pleasant woman, in addition to being one who was not afraid to speak her mind in his company. *Aftenstemning* is written to Josephine.⁵⁴

Ak, hvor sødt at følges ad,
til paa fagre Dages Rad
Livets Aften skinner!

Oh, how sweet to be by your side
until the evening light
glows on our days together!

As mentioned before, 1846 was a particularly stressful year for the composer. Kjerulf's lack of a music-theoretical background became increasingly burdensome, and his letters abound with complaints about how tired and indisposed he feels when he turns to his music studies at night, after having completed a day's work of teaching music to others. "If I just had the possibility to study abroad!" he exclaims over and over in his letters.

In early December 1846 he writes to Hjalmar: "During the last few days I have, nevertheless, set Welhaven's wonderful little poem 'Aftenstemning' to music, a gentle, quiet melody in a Lindeman-Mendelssohnian style, which people (and in particular Welhaven and his wife) find very beautiful, and in which Reissiger⁵⁵ has not found a single technical error."⁵⁶ Kjerulf continues by saying that Reissiger had told him that the two works, *Solvirkning* by Peter Asbjørnsen⁵⁷ and *Aftenstemning*, which he had shown him, were well composed and very pretty, that it was great shame that he had not developed such a talent any further, that he, by working hard, still could go far and write further works and larger ones, "and so on."⁵⁸

⁵²*Aftenstemning* was printed in Welhaven's third poetry collection, *Halvhundrede Digte* [Half-hundred Poems], issued in 1847 by the prestigious Danish publisher C. A. Reitzel, who also published the works of Heiberg, Andersen, Hertz, Winther, Paludan-Møller, and Kierkegaard, among others. Oehlenschläger had issued a poetry collection by the same name in 1844.

⁵³WSV V: 200.

⁵⁴Hauge 1955: 77.

⁵⁵Friedrich August Reissiger, German-born composer and conductor and leader of the Christiania Public Theater orchestra.

⁵⁶"Jeg har imidlertid i disse Dage skrevet en Musik til Welhavens deilige lille 'Aftenstemning', en blid og stille Musik i en Lindeman-Mendelssohnske Maneer, som man (og in specie Welhaven og Kone) finder meget smuk, og hvori Reissiger ikke har fundet en eneste teknisk fejl" (Moe 1917: 253).

⁵⁷Peter Asbjørnsen (1812-1885), writer and collector of Norwegian folk tales.

⁵⁸"[Reissiger] sagde, at det var Altsammen meget rigtigt og meget smukt, og at det var stor Skade, at jeg ikke havde gjort mere ud af saadant Talent, at jeg maatte ved flittigt Arbeide endnu kunne drive det til at

Setting Welhaven's text, however, gave Kjerulf mixed feelings. In his next letter to Theodor he says with a sigh, that "Welhaven's Evening Mood is his and unfortunately not mine. I am not in the position to sit in domestic bliss and let my deepest hardships be relieved by a beloved wife and a budding hope." He also concedes that he found it hard having to turn to the poet to find words for his own sentiments, and that he would have loved being able to do as the Swedish composer Lindblad and write his own texts. Still he admits that, "I was forced to picture another man's contentment; yes, I have felt a quiet delight in doing so. I have dreamt and this my dream's wistful pleasurable expression have I set to music," adding that he believes that he has given Welhaven's text the right musical expression.⁵⁹ (Example 7).

Naar en stille solklar Dag
helder mildt og svinder,
mens i Hjemmets Velbehag
Skumringstiden rinder,
da kan Hjertet blidest slaa,
og dets ømme Tanker gaa
som en rolig Flod,
hvorpaa Aftenrøden skinner.

When a tranquil sun-filled day
mildly fades away,
while in the comfort of the home
the twilight hour draws near,
then the heart can gently beat,
and its tender thoughts may turn
like a river, calm
shining in the evening glow.

Aftenstemning has much in common with the previous Welhaven romance, *Stille Liv*. Kjerulf made three attempts at setting the text to music. He discarded two of them, first the setting discussed below, composed in December 1846 and dedicated to his niece Marie Lasson, and the second, discussed later, composed in November 1853. The third, composed in 1861, is the only version that the composer finally approved for publication.

Although Kjerulf did not include the first setting of *Aftenstemning* in his list of works, I have included the romance because the three settings collectively represent fifteen years of compositional growth, from Kjerulf's unschooled attempts at music writing in the mid-forties, to his post-Leipzig development into a mature composer.

The 1846 version of *Aftenstemning* displays a number of features typical of Kjerulf's early period: an introduction and a coda, the former shorter than the latter; a fully developed accompaniment with frequent use of pedal points in both hands; arpeggiations; occasional independent voice leading, the latter most frequently displayed by contrary motion between

levere mere og større o.s.v. " (ibid.).

⁵⁹ "Welhaven's Aftenstemning er hans og desverre ikke min. Jeg kan ikke sitte i Hjemmets lyksalighed og lade mine dybeste savn dulmes af en elsket hustru og et spirende haab. ... Jeg har derfor nu som tidligere maattet skrive en musik til en annens stemninger. Jeg har maattet tenke meg inn i digternes velbehag; ja jeg har følt et stille velbehag i denne tanke. Jeg har drømt og denne min drøms vemodigt glade udtryk har jeg tonesat" (Moe 1917: 260).

Aftenstemning, 1846

Universitetsbiblioteket
 Jæsk Musiksaml.
 Nr. 26
 1846

Aftenstemning
 Op. 4 Wolmar, Musik af H. Spring.

Det gamle Lægen
 J. E. H.

Andante quasi Allegretto.

mp.

1. Vær en stil-le
 2. Vær der sig den
 3. Vær sig høst

6

vil-kar Sag blegner han og vin-der mens i Hjemmet Vel be-krag
 i - den Ord balt i søde Min - der ved du sig min Elskte hvor
 som som du Hørligt svar - vin - der ser sig i det stille Høst

11

Skinnende - den vin - der da kan Hjertet blivest glæde
 i den den der det Hjerte og i mit
 Smil paa dine Ånd der - sækker sig ve - mo - dig Glad

15

og det omme Tanker gaa som en ro - lig Høst hvor paa
 paa en Vær der sner frit paa et Høst der vin - der blivst
 at hvor sødt at følger ad bl paa fa - gne Dages Rad

Example 7. *Aftenstemning* [Evening Mood], first version, 1846. Page 1.

19

Aften - sø - den skin - ner da kan Hjertet bli - dest staa og det
 Mindets Aften skin - ner i dit Hjerte og i mit paa en
 drømt Aften skin - ner vinker sig ve - mu - sig glad: ak hvor

24

Om - me Taar - her gaar som en rolig Flod hvor paa
 Vær der spi - rer frugt paa et Haab der vin - ker blide
 søt at søt - ges ad til paa fagre Da - ges Rad

28

Aften - sø - den skin - ner
 Mindets Aften skin - ner
 drømt Aften skin - ner (Melisma)

33

Aften i rødder
 Efter sidste Vers

Aftenstemning [Evening Mood]. Page 2.

the voice and the piano; and repetition of the last part of the stanza.

The romance in E major with a short modulation to B major is marked *Andantino quasi Allegretto* and set in a strophic *ABCB'C* form, where the embellished *B'* and *C* sections are used for the repetition of the last four lines of the text. The simple flowing melody complements the tranquil and tender sentiment of the poem. So does the soft introduction, which leads into an arpeggiated accompaniment that repeats the voice line, first in the soprano (ms. 5-8), and then in the alto (ms. 9-10), before it gradually develops a life of its own on top of, or in between, successive pedal points. The first pedal in the bass is echoed by one in the soprano in measure 9, which subsequently is taken over by a pedal in the tenor in measure 12, where the *B* section begins. From this point onwards, the bass moves either in parallel thirds with the soprano, which forms an upper line to the voice in measures 17 and 18, 26 and 27, or in contrary motion to the melodic line.

The harmonic structure generally suits the voice line, although the embellishments and harmonic progressions in measures 24 and 25, as well as the postlude, sound pretentious and as if they have been added for mere decoration. The introduction works well as both prelude and postlude.

In his second setting of *Aftenstemning* (Example 7a), written in November 1853, Kjerulf admittedly falls short. His usual conjunct smooth melodic line has vanished, and is replaced instead by a stilted disjunct voice line with unruly rhythmic phrasing; he even places a strong dissonance on a word that expresses the opposite, all of which completely ruins the poem's tender lyricism. (It is tempting to speculate that his inability to return to this poem successfully was a consequence of the long-standing feud with the Garben family, the final incident taking place in 1853.⁶⁰)

The accompaniment abounds with diminished seventh chords – measure 16 has three, measure 21 two – as if the composer is trying to make the melodic line, which stays steadfast in G major, more interesting, or wants to demonstrate that he is fluent in a new harmonic language. Unfortunately, his effort cannot save the romance.

On the positive side, Kjerulf now masters the prelude and the postlude convincingly. Furthermore, the small interlude connecting the conclusion of the stanza – which he ends on the fifth scale degree – with the last two lines of repeated text, is well written. His old trademark, the bass and soprano pedal, is used frequently throughout the romance, including in the postlude which harbors a small closing theme in the alto. He also adopts the romantic mannerism of ending a piece on a scale degree other than the first.

⁶⁰Kjerulf's unpublished diaries, 4 April 1859.

Aftenstemning, 1853

For Autentico.

Aftenstemning
(Mood)

No. 53
H.K.

1. Haar en stille solklar Dag helder milt og
2. Sukke sig da uden Ord taket i fæder
3. Væjer sig hvert Savn, som du høfligt over =

5
Lid.

Svin der, ment i Himmels Velbehag Skummetiden
Minde, ved du dog min Skæbne hvor Tanker og fæder
vin der, der sig i det stille Nu Smil paa dine

9
vin - der - Da kan Hjertet Hødest Høst, og let omme
bin der. I det dybe, og i mit paa enhver der
kin - der - Sukke sig verner sig glad: At kun føle et

14
Tanker gaae som en rolig Flod, hvorpaa Aftenrøden skinner
Spiser fast, paa et Haar der vinder blidt Mindets afslapne skinner
følger ad de paa fagre Dager Red Livet aften skinner

Example 7a. *Aftenstemning* [Mood], second version, 1853. Page 1.

Aftenstemning [Evening Mood], second version. Page 2.

Kjerulf must have been determined to succeed in setting *Aftenstemning* to music. He made a new try at the poem over Christmas in 1858, but failed again. “Four songs are the whole outcome of the holidays,” he wrote in his diary on 8 Jan. 1859. “The German [‘Albumblatt’] by Hoffmann von Fallersleben. ‘By the Sea.’ A new melody for ‘Aftenstemning’ (bad) and a *Lied* by Platen, ‘In der Nacht.’”⁶¹

The completion of the third and last version came circa 1861 (Example 7b). Unfortunately, Kjerulf’s diary from 1861 is missing, and other clues as to why he revised the romance yet again are lacking. Whether connected or not, the setting coincides with the death of Marie Garben’s mother.

The third version of *Aftenstemning* resembles Kjerulf’s first setting of the poem, except for the change of key from E major to D major.⁶² The simple, flowing melody, which fits the text beautifully, is built on a small motive which is constantly reiterated and varied, e.g., measures 2-3, 6-7, 10-11, and 12-13, and an augmented version in measures 14-17.

⁶¹ “Fire Sange er Feriens hele Udbytte. Den tyske af Hoffmann von Fallersleben. ‘Ved Havet.’ En ny Melodi til ‘Aftenstemning’ (skidt) og en Lied af Platen, ‘In der Nacht.’” (Kjerulf’s unpublished diaries, 8 Jan. 1859).

⁶² Kjerulf finished only one other Welhaven text that year, *Ved Havet* [By the Sea], also a revision.

Aftenstemning, 1861

Moderato

Naar en stil - le sol - klar Dag
 Sid - der jeg da u - den Ord
 Vei - er jeg hvert Savn, som du
 Wenn ein son - nig stil - ler Tag
 Sit - ze ich dann oh - ne Wort
 Wäg' ich all' die Qual, die du,

dolce tranquillo

4
 hel - der mildt og svin - der, mens i Hjem - mets
 tabt i sø - de Min - der, ved du dog, min
 kjær - ligt o - ver - vin - der, ser jeg i det
 sanft zur Rü - ste schwe - bet, und im trau - li -
 tief ver - senkt in Sin - nen, weisst du, Theu - re,
 lie - bend ü - ber - win - dest, wie du in des

Example 7b. *Aftenstemning* [Evening Mood], third version, 1861. Page 1.

7

Vel - be - hag Skum - rings - ti - den rin - der,
 Elsk - te, hvor Tan - ken os for - bin - der.
 stil - le Nu Smil paa di - ne Kin - der,
 chen Ge - mach süs - se Dämm - rung we - bet,
 hier wie dort treu bleibt un - ser Min - nen,
 Glau - bens Ruh Freud im Lei - den fin - dest.

10

da kan Hjer - tet bli - dest slaa, og dets øm - me
 I dit Hjer - te og i mit, paa en Vaar der
 suk - ker jeg ve - mo - dig glad: Ak hvor sødt at
 sanft da un - ser Her - ze schlägt, süs - se Sehn - sucht
 wenn im Lenz die Blü - te lacht, füh - len wir der
 seufz' ich weh - muths - voll: wie schön, Arm in Arm durchs

13

poco riten. *a tempo*

Tan - ker gaa som en ro - lig
 spi - rer frit, paa et Haab der
 føl - ges ad til paa fag - re
 es be - wegt, wie den Fluss, der
 Lie - be Macht, lieb - lich folgt auf
 Le - ben geh'n. Bis da scheint auf

Aftenstemning [Evening Mood], third version, 1861. Page 2.

16

Flod, hvor paa Af - ten - rø - den
 vin - ker blidt Min - dets Af - glands
 Da - ges Rad Li - vets Af - ten
 kaum sich regt, A - bendroth be -
 Tren - nungs Nacht, neu - es Mor - gen -
 Thal und Höh'n Le - bens A - bend -

19

skin - ner, Af - ten - rø - den skin -
 skin - ner, Min - dets Af - glands skin -
 skin - ner, Li - vets Af - ten skin -
 -schei - net, A - bendroth be - schei -
 -glü - hen, neu - es Mor - gen - glü -
 -son - ne, Le - bens A - bend - son -

22

- ner.
 - ner.
 - ner!
 - net.
 - hen.
 - ne.

dim.
dolce
dim.
pp

Aftenstemning [Evening Mood], third version, 1861. Page 3.

The steady eighth-note accompaniment pattern, established at the outset and continuing throughout the romance like a *perpetuum mobile*, symbolizes the constant flow of time, with the augmented motive suggesting the run of a calm river.

Harmonically, this setting is more elaborate than the first, starting in D major and modulating to the closely related keys of B minor, A major, and F \sharp minor. The accompaniment, marked *dolce tranquillo*, opens with the alto and tenor moving in parallel thirds flanked by a pedal in the outer voices. The piano is alternatively running in conjunct and contrary motion, beneath or above the voice line, adding variation to the similar-sounding melodic phrases, and generally joining the voice toward the end of each line of text, e.g., in measures 4, 8, 11, 13, 16-17.

Kjerulf's ability to set a text to music improved substantially between 1846 and 1861, as is evident from comparison of the three only partially successful versions of *Aftenstemning*. His skill in handling introductions and postludes, key relationships, harmony, and voice-leading had grown steadily, yet his gift for melody and poetic characterization sometimes deserted him. To phrase it differently, he was seemingly incapable of writing a beautiful romance based on his love for a poem alone, i.e., *Stille Liv* and *Aftenstemning*.⁶³

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the German conductor, pianist, and composer Carl Arnold settling in Oslo in 1848, totally changed Kjerulf's life. He loved to work with Arnold and benefitted tremendously from his support and encouragement. During his study with Arnold in 1848-1849, Kjerulf revised four of his early Welhaven romances, in addition to writing three more, *Buesnoren* [The Bow String], *Af "Alfernes Hvisken"* [From "The Elves' Whisper"], and *Paa Fjeldet* [In the Mountain], all from *Nyere Digte* [Newer Poems].

Nyere Digte is divided into three sections, the first containing lyrical poems; the second, poems written for special occasions; and the third, poems built on myth or folklore, a subject that fascinated Welhaven, in addition to being part of the growing Norwegian nationalism. *Buesnoren*, *Af "Alfernes Hvisken"*, and *Paa Fjeldet* belong to the latter section. Hauge argues that these poems, could, in the Danish tradition, be called *Romancer og Ballader* [Romances and Ballads], a designation given to poems that deal with historic events and mythology.⁶⁴ In fact, Kjerulf published the songs as part of his *Romancer*, Opus 2, in 1851; the characters in the poems are indeed historical or mythological, and music is in the style of Danish folk ballads.⁶⁵

⁶³Kjerulf set another *Aftenstemning*, written by the Norwegian Nationalist and later Nobel laureate Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, to music in the early 1860s. Contrary to the Welhaven romance, the Bjørnson romance became one of Kjerulf's most popular works.

⁶⁴Beyer, 1995: 310.

⁶⁵*Buesnoren*, *Af "Alfernes Hvisken"*, and *Paa Fjeldet* were published as No. 1, 2, and 4 in Kjerulf's Opus 2, *Romancer* in 1851.

8. Buesnoren [The Bow String] HK 39

Buesnoren [The Bow String] tells the story of Thorarin, the archer, going to war.⁶⁶ Before he leaves, he asks his beloved to give him the flower wreath she is wearing around her forehead. She tells him that the beautiful flowers of spring are wasted on war; instead she insists on giving him a piece of weaponry that will prove as unbreakable as her love for him, a bow string braided from her thick golden hair.⁶⁷

Thorarin Bueskytte
skulde i Leding gaae;
Han tænkte med sit Bytte
at smykke sin Jægerhytte,
hvor Bjørnehuden laae.

Thorarin the Archer
was going off to war;
His trophy, he intended,
would adorn his hunting hut,
where the bear skin lay.

Hun havde om sin Isse
Roser og Kløverblad.
Han sagde: "Giv mig disse
at bære, naar Sværdets Spidse
dyppes i Birtingsbad".

She had upon her forehead
a rose and clover wreath.
He said: "Give me the flowers
to wear, when swordblades
are engaged in bloody combat."

Hun sagde: "Vaarens Smykke
er spildt i Kampens Spor.
Til Varsel for din Lykke
tag heller et Vaabenstykke:
en sikker Buesnor".

She said: "The beauty of spring
is squandered in the battle's wake.
Instead, to secure your fortune
bring a piece of weaponry:
an unbreakable bow string."

Kjerulf sets Welhaven's eight stanza poem in a traditional ballad form, with 16 measures of two beats each. Furthermore, his setting parallels one of the 18th and early 19th century new Danish ballad forms, *AABA*, in which the two first sections and the last are identical, or nearly so, while the third is in a higher register.⁶⁸

To fit Welhaven's *abaab* rhyme scheme into the *AABA* form, Kjerulf repeats the first four measures of music – the two verse lines that constitute *A* – the first in the piano alone, the

⁶⁶Thorarin is mentioned in the old Norse *Snorre's Saga*, which was translated from Icelandic in 1838, not long before the poem was written (Hauge, WSV II: 441). Løken (1900: 380) notes Welhaven's fascination with this saga.

⁶⁷The idea of making a bow string from a woman's hair is taken from *Njal's Saga*, only here Hallgerd, as an act of revenge, refuses to give her husband Gunnar her hair for a bowstring that ultimately could have saved his life (Rochelle Wright, private communication). Note that *Birtingr* is the name of a sword in Norse Mythology.

⁶⁸Svend Nielsen: 'Denmark. Traditional Music', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, eds. (London: Macmillan, 2001) vii: 214.

second with the voice added. Both are in F minor. The next two strophes constitute *B*. In the third he quickly moves to the relative major, while the fourth is back in F minor. The last strophe is set to the last two measures of *A*, which is extended through repetition into the two first measures of the coda (Example 8).

Although the romance fits the traditional ballad form, it is more likely that Kjerulf, in setting *Buesnoren* to music, had in mind the Norwegian folk ballad, with its stress on the downbeat and dance-like character. In the summer of 1849 Kjerulf, the painter Gude, and friends travelled on foot, visiting Norwegian mountains, valleys, and fjords. For the first time Kjerulf was exposed to folk ballads and Hardanger fiddle⁶⁹ music sung and played in their natural setting.⁷⁰ Sadly, we do not have Kjerulf's own account of the trip. We do, however, have two letters dated August 1846 and August 1848 from Gude, urging Kjerulf to join him and his friends in the mountains, which he did in 1849: "You should have been here and inhaled the fresh mountain air which heals the body and the soul. You should have been here when we sat in the bright sunshine up by Ilmenhøi, where the horizon was filled with pointy ice and snow-covered mountains, and, reaching us from the mountain pastures down below, the sound of cow-bells and the dairy-maids' cheerful and light-headed cattle call. Ah, what a life, what a life!"⁷¹ "It is wonderful beyond every description [here] ... seriously, could you not, just like that, join us – right away?"⁷²

Kjerulf's use of open fifths, octaves, pedal points, grace notes, and dissonances in this romance, plus a mixture of purely modal elements blended with traditional major and minor, point to Norwegian folk music. Likewise, the four-measure coda, which acts like a connection between the stanzas, modulates via F minor to a dominant seventh chord in the subdominant B^b minor; the dominant chord is followed by a triplet leading directly into a phrygian half cadence on the dominant in the opening key of F minor. (Here one is reminded of *The Mountain Wanderer sings*.) This chord progression – which produces a tonal instability – as well as the triplet figuration and the phrygian half cadence are also characteristic of Norwegian folk music.⁷³

⁶⁹The Hardanger fiddle is violin with eight or nine strings. Four of the strings are strung and played like a normal violin, while the other strings are under strings that resonate with the upper ones.

⁷⁰Grinde 1991: 164-5.

⁷¹"De skulde have været med og indsuget den friske Fjeldluft, som gjør En frisk og sund paa Sjæl og Legeme. De skulde have været med, naar vi i det klareste Solskin sadde oppe ved Ilmenhøi og havde Horizonten fuld af takkede iis og snebedækkede Fjelde, og der nede fra Sætervolden klang op til os Koebjælder og livsglad, overgiven Kauen af jetende Jenter, ak! hvilket Liv, hvilket Liv!" (Moe 1917: 219.)

⁷²"... det er over al Beskrivelse deiligt, ... kunde Du alvorligt talet ikke i en Haandvendning gjøre den Reise – strax? øieblikkelig?" (Moe 1918: 19.)

⁷³See Dinslage and Herresthal 1998: 28; Schjelderup-Ebbe 1957: 240.

Buesnoren

Allegretto

Tho - ra - rin Bu - e - skyt - te skul - de i Le - ding
 Men først han gik til Van - gen, hvor Bir - ke sto - de
 Der Schütz Tho - ra - rin heu - te sollt in den Krieg hin -
 Doch als er hin - ge - gan - gen, wo Bir - ken stan - den

gaae; skul - de i Le - ding gaae. Han
 tæet; hvor Bir - ke sto - de tæet; thi
 aus, sollt in den Krieg hin - aus, Wie
 hell, wo Bir - ken stan - den hell, da

tænk - te med sit Byt - te at smyk - ke sin Jæ - ger - hyt - te, hvor
 der blev Skyt - ten fan - gen en Vaar un - der Fug - le san - gen i
 da sein Herz sich freu - te „Ich brin - ge rei - che Beu - te zur
 ward der Schütz ge - fan - gen, wo Vö - gel so lieb - lich san - gen in

Bjør - ne - hu - den laae.
 Frej - as skjul - te Net.
 Bä - ren - haut ins Haus! "
 Frej - as Ne - tze schnell.

Example 8: *Buesnoren* [The Bow String].

Kjerulf's nationalistic setting matches Welhaven's Old Norse tale about Thorarin perfectly. In particular, the last major chord, which hangs vibrating in the air, mirrors the hopeful sentiment of the lyrics, that the bowstring will last as long as the love of the archer's maiden, thereby protecting its master from defeat, and enabling a happy reunion of the two lovers.

9. Paa Fjeldet [In the Mountain] HK 43

Nu sidder Huldren paa Tue	The wood spirit sits on her tussock
og blæser i Luren og er saa glad;	blowing her lur so happily
thi Aftenhimmelens Lue	because the glowing sunset
spredter sit Guld paa det bævende Blad.	spreads its gold on the quivering leaf.

Paa Fjeldet is set to one of Welhaven's many National Romantic poems about the wood spirit, *huldren*, a popular figure in Norwegian folktale. In his review of *Nyere Digte* [Newer Poems], Andreas Munch writes that the wood spirit is the personification of nature's unconscious life. She is often portrayed with a hunchback and cow tail, but in Welhaven's poetry she is light-footed and beautiful, and shares his melancholy, longings, and also his love for nature.⁷⁴ Hauge writes, "In Løchen's records [Welhaven's sister] Maren Sars narrates that Welhaven once heard Halfdan Kjerulf play something and asked what it was. [Kjerulf replied,] 'It is for your Wood Spirit,' and then Welhaven wept with joy and said: 'Those tones completely match my feelings.' This could be the poem in question."⁷⁵

In perfect accord with the lyrics, Kjerulf develops his Norwegian style further. He borrows a number of new features from folk music, like the introductory grace note in the soprano followed by an open fifth in the bass; the subsequent pedal point, which, being kept mainly throughout the piece, leads to strong dissonances, i.e., a minor second paired with a tritone in measure 14, plus several major ninth chords (Example 9).

The melody consists of two phrases, one antecedent and one consequent, which are later repeated and altered, hence the form *ABA'B'*. In the interlude Kjerulf employs a folk-melodic device, a prolonged rest and an accentuated motive with an added embellishment, see measures 8 and 9. He then returns to the opening chord for closure. At the beginning of the repetition, he transfers the melodic line momentarily to the right hand of the accompaniment, while the voice acts like a descant. He continues, moving the melody to the tenor in measures 12, 13, and 14; here both the voice and soprano piano part are in the descant. To prolong the short stanza, Kjerulf repeats the last half of the second and fourth strophe (ms. 7-8, 15-16, plus anacrusis).

A postlude, shaped like a varied repetition of the consequent phrase, the wood spirit's lur,⁷⁶ then follows in the piano. This phrase is immediately repeated an octave lower, moves

⁷⁴Løchen 1900: 395.

⁷⁵"I Løchens optegnelser fortæller [Welhavens søster] Maren Sars at W engang hørte HK spille noe og spurte hva det var. 'Det er til Deres Hulder,' og saa graad W af glæde og sa: 'De toner er aldeles det samme som mine følelser.' Det kan være dette diktet det er tale om" (Hauge, WSV II: 424).

⁷⁶A lur is a long northern European wind instrument. The oldest ones were made from bronze and date

Paa Fjeldet

Andante

Nu sid - der Hul - dren paa Tu e og
 Hul - dren spil - ler i Li - en sin
 Nun sitzt die Fee auf dem Stei - ne, und
 wenn sie spielt auf der Hal - de das

mp *cresc.*

5 *rit.*

blæ - ser i Lu - ren og er saa glad, og er saa glad;
 gam - le Vi - se en Som - mer - kveld, en Som - mer - kveld,
 bläst ins Horn wohl so froh und hold, so froh und hold,
 al - te Lied in dem A - bend - strahl, im A - bend - strahl.

9 *accel.* *a tempo*

thi Af - ten - him - me - lens
 da gjen - klin - ger Me - lo -
 Im A - bend - him - mels -
 Dann klinget es wie - der vom

15 *p* *mf*

Example 9. *Paa Fjeldet* [In the Mountain]. Page 1.

12

Lu - e spre - der sit Guld paa det bæ - ven - de Blad, paa det
 di - en langt bor - te i Byg - den, fra Fjeld til Fjeld, fra
 Schei - ne klei - det das le - ben - de Blatt sich in Gold, das
 Wal - de in Fer - nen so weit und von Thal zu Thal, von

cresc.

15

bæ - ven - de Blad.
 Fjeld til Fjeld.
 Blatt sich in Gold.
 Thal zu Thal.

ff

poco accel.

20

rit.

a tempo

1. 2.
 2. Naar
 2. Und

mp

p

Paa Fjeldet [In the Mountain]. Page 2.

via a diminished seventh chord to a phrygian half cadence, and concludes with a “cattle-call” – a downward wide leap motion – which, in the Norwegian vocal tradition, is set to texts like *aa, stakkar!* [oh, poor thing!] (ms. 21-22.) Kjerulf carefully notates the cattle-call – the first pitch is marked with a fermata, the second accented and tied over to the third, which is followed by a rest – and the wood spirit’s lur, which echoes through the mountains, first marked *fortissimo* and then *piano*.



Tourister [Tourists]. Drawing by Welhaven and Hjalmar Kjerulf. From Moe 1917: 73.

The composer also plays with the key signature. The voice begins in D major, but the accompaniment begins with an A (i.e., V/I) as pedal point, which brings the consequent phrase as well as the coda to a conclusion in A major. The next two phrases are unambiguously in D major. The voice carries over the final D into the postlude, thereby creating one of the strong dissonances frequently found in Norwegian folk music, a major seventh chord paired with a major second. The phrygian cadence that ends the stanza leads directly into the opening dominant chord in D major, which momentarily sounds like it is in A major. The second stanza ends unambiguously in D major, however, Kjerulf cannot resist concluding the piano melody on the fifth scale degree.

Why Kjerulf decided to set only the first two of the poem’s seven stanzas is unclear. However, by examining the rhyme scheme, it is evident that the music does not fit several of the remaining verses without modification. Furthermore, the first two stanzas constitute

back to the Bronze Age; the younger ones, made from wood, were used by the Vikings.

a closed unit, which may explain why Kjerulf chose to leave out the rest.

Grinde dates *Buesnoren* and *Paa Fjeldet* to 1848-49;⁷⁷ it is uncertain whether they were completed before or after Kjerulf's trip to the mountains with Gude and friends in the summer of 1849. Numerous clues point to their having been completed in the following fall: first, Kjerulf wrote in a letter to Welhaven in March of 1848 that, "I also have tried to set 'Huldren' ['the wood spirit,' i.e., *Paa Fjeldet*] to music. You will find that my interpretation differs widely from [the Danish composer] Rung's, however, I am the first to acknowledge that I still have not managed to get it right";⁷⁸ second, the improved harmonic progressions and accompaniment resulting from lessons with Arnold; finally, his exposure to Norwegian folk music in the summer of 1849 with the resulting abundance of folk music features in the two romances. *Paa Fjeldet* is one of Kjerulf's few Welhaven settings with a distinctly Norwegian tone color.

The summer trip of 1849 further influenced Kjerulf's piano music, in particular his 67 arrangements of Norwegian folk tunes. As Grinde points out, Kjerulf was one of the first composers to write art music based on folk material – a tradition continued by Grieg and Dvůřák.⁷⁹

⁷⁷Grinde 1956:23-4.

⁷⁸"Ogsaa jeg har forsøgt mig paa 'Huldren'. Her vil De see en aldeles anden Opfatning, men en som jeg selv erkjender ei ret at have kunnet gjennemføre" (Mohr 1946:39).

⁷⁹Grinde 1989: 177-187.

10. Af “Alfernes Hvisken” [From “The Elves’ Whisper”] HK 42

Af “*Alfernes Hvisken*” belongs to the Welhaven poems believed to be written in memory of Ida. The text is bittersweet: On a beautiful summer’s day, the whispering elves urge the poet to come and rest in their leaf covered grove-house and let the linden trees cover his chest with flowers:

Det er en deilig Sommerdag,
den friske Lund har reist sit Tag,
og lader Løvet suse.
I Luften flagre Alfer om,
og hviske blidt: ”O skynd dig, kom
til vore Lundehuse”!

“Der er saa luunt, der er saa tyst,
der falde Blomster paa dit Bryst
fra rige Lindegrene,
og ønsker du at drømme sødt,
da kan du hvile ganske blødt
paa mosbelagte Stene”.

It is a beautiful summer day,
the refreshing grove has covered its roof,
and lets the leaves whistle.
The elves are fluttering in the air,
and whisper gently: “Oh, hurry up, come
to our grove house.”

“It is so sheltered, it is so quiet,
with flowers falling onto your chest
from luscious linden branches,
and if you wish to dream sweet dreams,
then you can rest quite softly
on moss covered stones.”

When he arrives alone, however, they have only one question for him: why did you not bring your beloved to the place where the songbird is building its nest?⁸⁰ The poet answers bitterly:

O søde Røst, hvi vækker du
min hemmelige Smerte nu
i disse stille Lunde?
Min Mund er lukket, mit Aag er
tungt,
der findes intet Hvilepunkt,
hvor Savnets Orm kan blunde.

Oh, sweet voice, why do you evoke
my secret pain now
in this quiet grove?
My mouth is closed, my burden is
heavy,
there is no place where my
tormented longing can rest.

The trope here of sitting locked in an embrace in an alcove of green leaves is one that Welhaven used earlier in his love letters to Ida.⁸¹

⁸⁰Løchen 1900: 370.

⁸¹E.g., Mohr 1926: 106.

Af "Alfernes Hvisken"

Grazioso e non troppo allegro

p *leggiere* *pp*

5 *rall.* *a tempo*

Det er en dei - lig Som - mer - dag, den
 er saa luunt, der er - saa tyst, der
 Es ist ein schö - ner Som - mer - tag, es
 ist's so warm, voll stil - ler Lust, dir

9 *riten.*

fri - ske Lund har reist sit Tag, og la - ter Lø - vet su - se. I
 fal - de Blom - ster paa dit Bryst fra ri - ge Lin - de - gre - ne, og
 baut der Wald sein grü - nes Dach aus dich - ten Bau - mes - kro - nen. Die
 fal - len Blu - men auf die Brust, von wei - chen Lin - den - bäu - men. Dort

colla parte

Example 10. Af "Alfernes Hvisken" [From "Elves' Whispers"]. Page 1.

13

Luf - ten flag - re Al - fer om, og hvi - ske blidt » O skynd dig, kom til
 øn - sker du at drøm - me sødt, da kan du hvi - le gan - ske blødt paa
 El - fen flie - gen in der Luft, und ih - re süs - se Stim - me ruft: Komm
 führt's dich in des Schlummers Reich, dort kannst du ru - hen, süss und weich, und

17

vo - re Lun de - hu - se! »
 mos - be - lag - te Ste - ne »
 in dem Wald zu woh - nen!
 auf dem Moos - bett träu - men!

21

rallent.

»Der
 Dort

Af "Alfernes Hvisken" [From "Elves' Whispers"]. Page 2.

Kjerulf, however, declines to address the tragic shift in the poetry, setting just the first two of the six stanzas, hence the title, *From "The Elves' Whisper."* Perhaps, as earlier with *Elveløbet* [The River's Run], he could not bear to be reminded of Welhaven's great sorrow – and his own. Or perhaps he simply wanted to write a sweet romance in the tradition of the Danish composers Weyse and Gade, for which these stanzas were a perfect choice, as, in isolation, they convey a completely different message than the poem as a whole.

The romance, written in F Major with a quick modulation to the dominant, basically consists of three melodic phrases which are repeated and paraphrased (Example 10). The setting is strophic, but owing to the mood being the same in both stanzas, Kjerulf is able to play with the words and the text's sentiments using the same means, e.g., the soft arpeggiated accompaniment portraying equally well the fleeting summer day and rustling leaves, the quiet grove and falling flowers; the staccato arpeggiations portraying whispering voices, sweet dreams, and elves moving whimsically around.

Af "Alfernes Hvisken" opens with a six measure prelude, which concludes with a one bar cadence followed by nearly a measure of rest. The prelude is repeated at the end of the stanza, a feature which acts like a unifying device, but also forces the melody to stand out.

The accompaniment is arguably Kjerulf's best so far, filled with details that complement the voice beautifully, i.e., moving in contrary motion to the melodic line (ms. 8, 17), echoing rhythmic figures (ms. 8, 10, 12, 13, and 15), repeating the melodic line (ms. 13-14), and paraphrasing melodic material (ms. 13-14). Furthermore, the use of F and A as descant pedal points in the second half of the romance adds to the airy character of the piece. That the accompaniment proper is not very elaborate speaks to the fact that Kjerulf is still writing *Hausmusik* for domestic consumption.

The romance is written in Kjerulf's pan-European style. Nonetheless, it contains traces of Norwegian folk music, e.g., dissonances, fourths and fifths, and folk music inspired trills in measures two and four of the prelude. The melody proper could have been written before Kjerulf's summer excursion in 1849, while the

tildel. No. 1. Buesnoren, har aldeles Holle-
vifens Præg; Moltouerarten, de første Forslag og
den enkelte lange Tone paa den lette Underkælle-
vilde, hvild man ikke vidste bedre, have bemærket
den som en af de Bliser, der "have gjort sig sjæl".
Al Numerne i første Hæfte er indet mætte tiltalende
end No. 2, Alfernes Hviſken. Det lette, gjen-
nemfigtige Berøp, hvild yndelige Clement gaar
senere igjennem Lebsagelien, er ret Riffet til at
vække Forestillingen om hine Eufens venlige Kam-
der, den barnlige Fantastisk Elabning. Af selve
Melodien modtager man Indtrykket af, at "det er
en deilig Sommerdag." No. 3, Elveløbet, er
i harmonisk Henseende ikke uinteressant, hvildet
dog ikke er skand til at betage det hele Præget
af en vis Tilgjortbed, som navnlig aabenbarer sig
i Melodiens Reimud, der næsten i hver enkelt
Takt veksler. Paa Sjældet, No. 4, som ikke er
ret godt, er det ganske artig at være en Stund,
om ikke for andet, saa for at få nogle Drag
frisk Luft ind. Den fjerde og tredje sidste Takt
af "Paa Sjældet" minder om Grønne Anstøt-
ter hand Melde paa Bjællene. Paa en Væbning
den smukke Sjældene blev han engang, fortæller
han, var en paaaldende Godebning i Bjerg-
vængen. Hans Berøp fortæller ham, at et Vel-
Red af Berde, som ogsaa havde besøgt det samme
Sted, var nær kommen i Rødsen sammen med

*Morgenbladet's review of Kjerulf's Opus 2,
Romancer.*

six measure prelude–postlude was probably written after his return in the fall of 1849.

Af “Alfernes Hvisken” is also among the romances that benefited substantially from Kjerulf’s study with Arnold, as is seen in the more simplistic voice lines, and more complex piano lines. Kjerulf’s newly developed harmonic skills are clearly audible in the smooth harmonic progressions in the accompaniments, as well as in the delicate interactions between piano and voice. The romance is also among Kjerulf’s classical settings, with its antecedent first half moving upward and modulating to the dominant, and the consequent phrase moving downward and back to the tonic key.⁸²

There is apparently only one review of Kjerulf’s Opus. 2, *Romancer*, the one posted in the Christiania paper *Morgenbladet* on 8 November 1857:⁸³ “Kjerulf shows himself in all these works to be an able cultivated musician. Any particularly deep emotions or rich fantasy is not exactly evident in them. They are all more or less marked by a temperament, which, open to the blithe beauty of nature, the brook’s murmur, the summer wind’s play with the birch leaves, in particular lingers with them and preferably, and also most favorably, portray those moods that they elicit.”⁸⁴ These views were shared by a number of Kjerulf’s contemporaries.

The review is highly subjective, written by a critic who chose to be anonymous, which was not the norm.⁸⁵ The reviewer touching lightly and slightly disparagingly on the first of the Romances, writes, “*The Bow String* has all the characteristics of the folk ballad; the minor key, the grace notes and the sometimes sustained note on the second beat, could, if one did not know better, have labelled it as one of those tunes that ‘has made itself’ [literally, a grassroot tune].”⁸⁶ However, the critic was quite taken with Kjerulf’s setting of *Af “Alfernes Hvisken”*: “Of the works in the first collection none is more pleasing than No. 2, *Elves’ Whispers*. The light transparent prelude, with its rhythmic element continuing in the accompaniment, is ideally suited for evoking the imagination of these airy amiable spirits, the creatures of the innocent mind. The melody gives the impression that ‘it is a wonderful summer day.’”⁸⁷ The critic was not so enchanted with *Elveløbet*: “No. 3, *The River’s Run*,

⁸²A thorough analysis of Arnold’s influence on Kjerulf is given in Dinslage and Herresthal, 1998.

⁸³Grinde 1956: 86.

⁸⁴“Kjerulf viser sig i alle disse Komposisjoner som en dyktig dannet Musiker. Nogen særdeles dyb Følelse eller rig Fantasi aabenbarer sig just ikke i dem. De bære alle mere eller mindre Præget af et Sind, der, aabent for Naturens blidere Skjönheder, for Bækkens Rislen, Sommervindens Spil med Birkens Blade, især dvæler ved dem og helst, og vist ogsaa heldigst, gjengiver de Stemninger, der ved dem vækkes.”

⁸⁵Particularly in the case of Welhaven, any review of his works would lead to a flood of arguments, often followed by great animosity between Welhaven and the critic.

⁸⁶“*Buesnoren* har aldeles Folkevisens Præg; Moltonearten, de korte Forslag og den enkelte lange Tone paa den lette Andenstavelse vilde, hvis man ikke visste bedre, have Stemplet den som en af de Viser, der ‘have gjort sig sjøl.’”

⁸⁷“Af Numrene i første Hefte er intet mere tiltalende end No. 2, *Alfernes Hvisken*. Det lette gennemsi

is harmonically not uninteresting, but is not, however, capable of moving [the listener], as it is characterized by a certain unnaturalness in the melodic rhythm, which changes in nearly every measure.”⁸⁸ *Paa Fjeldet*, on the other hand, received a condescending review: “*In the Mountain*, No. 4, which is not particularly high, is a pretty nice place to stay for a while, if not for anything but to inhale some fresh air.”⁸⁹

The anonymous critic clearly disliked Kjerulf’s Norwegian style. Kjerulf’s reaction was nevertheless calm, probably aided by the fact that the review was written six years after the publication of the romances. In addition, his next collection of songs, Opus 3, had just received splendid reviews. He comments laconically in his diary on 8 November 1857: “In today’s *Morgenbladet* a long droll essay about our [Norwegian] music literature, or rather about the songs of mine published in this country. The man’s praise is like Monrad’s [professor of philosophy, amateur musician, and art critic,] that is, he pats and hits you simultaneously. By no means is this a true musical art review.”⁹⁰

In summary, the period between 1840 and 1850 was for Kjerulf a time of trial and error. None of the early Welhaven romances was completed without countless revisions – in his lifetime Kjerulf published only five of them – the main reason being his lack of compositional skills. To add to his struggle, Kjerulf underwent great emotional and psychological stress from Welhaven’s sharing living accommodations with the Kjerulf family for many years after his sister Ida’s death.

Two of the ten first Welhaven poems that Kjerulf chose to set to music were ballads, one a portrait of homely bliss, and seven lyrical descriptions of nature. Kjerulf, being infatuated with the German *Lied*, set them in the pan-European style. Some years later, he started to experiment with his “Norwegian ballad style,” his inspiration stemming from the large number of Norwegian folk music being collected and issued, and his reading of Welhaven poems infused with elements of Norwegian myth and folklore. Over the next two decades Kjerulf developed his pan-European and Nordic styles in parallel. He later referred to *Veiviseren singer* [The Mountain Wanderer Sings] as his first *vise*, although it displays

Forspil, hvis rytmiske Element gaar senere igjennem Ledsagelsen, er ret skikket til at vække Forestillingen om hine Luftens venlige Aander, den barnlige Fantasies Skabninger. Melodien modtaer man Indtrykket af, at ‘det er en deilig Sommerdag.’”

⁸⁸ “No. 3, *Elvelæbet*, er i harmonisk Henseende ikke uinteressant, hvilket dog ikke er istand til at betage, det Hele Præget af en vis Tilgjorthed, som navnlig aabenbarer sig i Melodiens Rytmus, der næsten i hver enkelt Takt varier.”

⁸⁹ “*Paa Fjeldet*, No. 4, som ikke er ret høit, er det ganske artig at være en Stund, om ikke for andet, saa for at faae nogle Drag frisk Luft ind.”

⁹⁰ “I *Morgenbladet* for idag en lang pudserlig Opsats om vor musikalske Literatur, eller egentlig om mine her i Landet udgivne Sange. Manden roser omtrent paa Monrads Vis, d.v.s. han klapper og slaar paa engang. Nogen virkelig musikalsk Kunstkritik er det ingenlunde” (Kjerulf’s unpublished diaries, 8 Nov. 1857; Grinde, private communication).

only a few of the folk song characteristics we find in his later songs written in the Norwegian idiom.

After his studies with Arnold in 1848-49, Kjerulf's skills underwent strong development, particularly in accompaniment writing in his German *Lied*-inspired romances, as one sees from comparing the "sing-spiel" like piano part of his first Welhaven romance *Nøkken* [The Water Sprite] with the elaborate setting of *Af "Alfernes Hvisken"* [From "The Elves' Whisper"], in which the accompaniment emulates the German romantic *Lied* in its complementarity to the voice line, sometimes imitating, duetting, or echoing it alternately in the right and left hand.

Chapter 4

The Late Welhaven Romances: 1850-1868

As Edvard Grieg remarked, Kjerulf wrote some of his most venerated works during the ten years following his studies in Copenhagen and Leipzig.¹ In this period his romances became more *Lieder*-like, i.e., varied strophic and through-composed, his key changes more sophisticated, and the accompaniment independent of the voice; and his Norwegian songs more Norwegian, simple strophic settings with mainly chordal accompaniment. His songs entered the concert halls and were performed by professional singers, and his fame spread. By the end of the 1850s, Kjerulf was regarded as the most important song composer in Scandinavia.

As treated extensively in Chapter 3, Kjerulf studied abroad from October 1849 to April 1851. After having returned to Christiania, “A sad mixture of a capital and small town devoid of beauty and gracefulness,”² he decided to send four of his Welhaven romances, *Buesnoren*, *Alfernes Hvisken*, *Elveløbet*, and *Paa Fjeldet*, to the Danish publishers *Lindorf & Hansen* as well as to Gade. In a letter to his brother Theodor, Kjerulf writes that his songs “have sailed to Copenhagen ... and God knows if I will ever see them again. But who cares!”³ His tone of voice is very different in his letter to Gade, writing that he feels obliged to show his audiences the result of his studies abroad, that he has rescued these four little songs from “musical shipwreck,” and is ashamed to publish such “trifles.” Nevertheless, he senses that these songs have a “tiny spark of individuality,” although they are mere sentiments, not a real Opus 1. He then asks Gade and Hartmann, who both know him personally and also know that he does not have inflated thoughts about himself, to tell him openly if he would make a fool of himself by publishing them. He concludes the letter by asking Gade and Hartmann to give him some consolation, for which he would bless them.⁴

Despite Kjerulf’s seemingly low self esteem, his spirits had generally changed. His letters

¹Grieg, in Benestad, 2001: 223.

²“En Bedrøvelig Mellemtung af en Hovedstad og en Smaaby, blottet for Skjønhed og Ynde” (Welhaven’s description of Oslo, in Vogt 1918: 597).

³“Jeg har givet *Lindorf & Hansen* 4 Romancer til en Begyndelse; de ere seilede ned til Kjøbenhavn, og Gud veed om og naar jeg seer dem igjen. Skidt i det!” (Moe 1918: 125).

⁴Moe 1918: 125.

to Theodor and Gude were lighter and more optimistic than earlier; from time to time they were even quite humorous. Although feeling in part like a stranger in his home town, he was busy greeting old friends, including Welhaven. By this stage he no longer admired the poet as an orator; on the contrary, he told his brother that Welhaven had been “atrociously affected and damnably intolerably vulgar” at the recent Freemason meeting, and even entered a dispute on music with him pretending to be an expert on the subject. In sharp contrast with his earlier almost almighty reverence for Welhaven, Kjerulf told him straight to his face that he had no knowledge of the matter and asked him to shut up!⁵ Still, he turned to Welhaven’s poetry for inspiration and told Theodor that, “I once more returned to Welhaven, who, at least, a few times has tugged my heart strings.”⁶

⁵Moe 1918: 114-115.

⁶ “[Jeg] kom saaledes atter tilbage til Welhaven, som dog idetmindste et Par Gange har sat min Harpe i Klang” (Moe 1918: 123).

11. En Vaarnat [A Spring Night] HK 58

What tugged Kjerulf's heart strings was the poem *A Spring Night* – and Marie Garben, whom the composer had met on several occasions after his return to Christiania. As he tells Theodor, “In this ‘Spring Night’ I have, no matter what one might say about it, always found so much music,”⁷ adding that he had tried three different approaches in setting the text, but was unable to make up his mind. Not surprisingly, he settled for the pan-European style, a natural consequence of his recent studies in Germany, the influences of Romanticism, Welhaven's text, and Schubert and Schumann, whose “flight” he could only dream of emulating.⁸

Vaarnatten stille og sval
favner den slumrende Dal.
Elvene nynne de lange
dæmpede, dyssende Sange.
Alfer sukke
for de smukke
Liljer: “O, tager os tilfange!”

The spring night quiet and cool
engulfs the slumbering valley.
The river murmurs its long
calm, lulling songs.
Elves are sighing
for the lovely
lilies: “Oh, seize us!”

En Vaarnat, with its obsessive dwelling on memories of the past, is yet another lament for Welhaven's lost beloved. To Welhaven and to the Romantics, nature was filled with spiritual life; human spirits and nature were united by invisible bonds. By seeking nature, Welhaven could fuse his soul with that of his dead beloved whose spirit was present among the elves, the elemental beings that connect to the spirit, and the lilies, representing Ida's purity and innocence. “Don't close your eyes tonight,” he urges, “stay awake and bring forth your cherished memories! Gentle shadows [i.e., the beloved dead], will appear waving among the moon-lit limbs.”⁹ He continues:

⁷“I denne ‘Vaarnat’ har jeg, hvad der forresten kan være at sige paa den, altid fundet saa megen Musik” (Moe 1918: 122).

⁸“A Schumannesque flight is something I just dream about. I always remain lame.” [“Om en Schumansk Flugt kan jeg kun drømme. Tam bliver jeg bestandig (ibid.).

⁹In his analysis of the text, Hauge argues that Welhaven's uses the moon as a symbol of memories not just because the moon reflects the light of a stronger source, but above all because the moon blurs the landscape and fuses near and far objects into a secret unity (1955: 31).

Hør hvor de hviske dig ømt	Hear how they whisper tenderly
Alt hvad din Længsel har drømt,	all what your longing has dreamt,
see hvor de bringe tilbage	see how they bring back
Gjenskin av fagre Dage!	memories of fairer days!
La det tindre;	Let them glimmer;
det vil lindre	it will ease
Smerten i dit Savn og din Klage.	the pain of your loss and lament.

Kjerulf justifiably set only the first and the last two of the four stanzas, the second stanza being a mere elaboration on the first, a peaceful portrait of nature. He marked the score *allegretto tranquillo*. The river's flow is captured in the continuous accompaniment that runs gently throughout the song, the almost unchanging dynamics, and the repetitive use of a pedal, first in the bass and tenor and later in the tenor and alto. That each stanza ends on the dominant further adds to the sense of flow (Example 11).

The romance is divided into two sections, *A* and *B*, the former consisting of the first four lines of the text, the latter of the last three. The *A* section, set in E^b major, opens with eleven sixteenth notes, of which the first five are used as a unifying device between each text line, i.e., at the beginning of measures one, three, five, seven, and nine. The text lines are separated by rests, with the exception of the third and fourth, where Kjerulf stresses the words “long,” and later “alone” and “remain” by stretching them out over one measure (ms. 7 and 26). The movement throughout the section is oblique, the voice and soprano piano moving predominantly downward and the bass-line remaining stationary. The inner voices, moving in steady sixteenth-notes mostly in thirds or sixths with the soprano, providing a sense of flow while the *staccato* right hand accompaniment provides an airy feeling of spring, elves, moving tree limbs, memories, and moonlight.

In the *B* section (m. 10), which opens in the subdominant parallel F minor, the musical structure is slightly altered, as Kjerulf no longer separates the text lines. Furthermore, the opening five-note figure is used in inversion, first as an introduction to the section, and later in the accompaniment in measures 14 and 16. The figure is also used repeatedly in its original form in the interlude between the stanzas and as a means to delay the cadence in measure 20. The movement in the voice line is still flowing and predominantly downward with the exception of a leap up to a high F in measure 12, which is marked by *crescendo* followed by *diminuendo*, and a tritone moving from G to D^b in measure 14, which, in addition to being marked by *crescendo*, is arpeggiated to stress the word “hostage,” and in the third stanza, “lament.” Another noticeable change is the contrary motion in the outer and inner voices (ms. 10-13), the rapid pedal in the inner voice (ms. 10-12), and the parallel movement in the soprano and bass (m. 15), yielding a thicker texture than in the previous section.

En Vaarnat

Allegretto tranquillo

Vaar - nat - ten stil - le og
 Luk dog ei Øi - et i -
 Lenz - nacht, so still und so
 Ach in der Stil - le der

3
 sval fav - ner den slum - ren - de Dal.
 nat, vaag med Er - in - drin - gens Skat!
 kühl. schmiegst dich an Thä - ler so schwül,
 Nacht, klin - gen mir Tö - ne so sacht,

6
 El - ve - ne nyn - ne de lan - ge dæm - pe - de, dys - sen - de
 Her, mens du sid - der al - e - ne aab - ner sig Min - der - nes
 lieb - li - che Tö - ne er klin - gen, sag, was be - deu - tet das
 al - te ver - ges - se - ne Lie - der, re - gen im Her - zen sich

Example 11. En Vaarnat [A Spring Night]. Page 1.

9

San - ge. Al - fer suk - ke for de
Sce - ne, her vil from - me Skyg - ger
Sin - gen? El - fen grüs - sen ih - re
wie - der. süs - se Stun - den längst ver -

p

12

smuk - ke Li - lier »O, ta - ger os til - fan - ge. O,
kom - me vin - ken - de blandt maa - ne - ly - se Gre - ne, blandt
süs - sen weissen Li - lien, lasst zum Her - zen drin - gen, o
schwun - den schwe - ben wie Schat - ten auf und nie - der, wie

dim. cresc.

15

ta - ger os til - fan - ge!
maa - ne - ly - se Gre - ne.
lasst zum Her - zen drin - gen.
Schat - ten auf und nie - der.

dim. e rit. P dol.

18

21

Hør, hvor de hvi - ske dig ømt Alt hvad din Læng - sel har
 Hör' ih - re Lie - der, so mild bald wird dein Seh - nen ge -

24

drømt; see, hvor de brin - ge til - ba - ge
 stillt; seht, wie sie brin - gen die Stun - den,

27

Gjenskin af fa - gre - re Da - ge! Lad det
 wel - che dir wa - ren ent - schwun - den! Sol - che

p

En Vaarnat [A Spring Night] Page 3.

30

tin - dre, det vil lin - dre Smerten i dit Savn og i din
 Bil - der ma - chen mil - der dei - ne Lei - den hei - len dei - ne

33

Kla - ge, i dit Savn og i din Kla - ge!
 Wun - den, dei - ne Lei - den, dei - ne Wun - den!

36 *p dol.*

pp *pp* *sempre pp*

40

pp

The influence of the German Romantic legacy is noticeable here, particularly in the rapid chordal changes and the tendency to shift away from the dominant. The first two text lines of the *A* section are set in the key of E^b major. Kjerulf then moves, via the sixth, to G minor at the end of the third text line (m. 7), briefly visits an A^b major sonority (m. 8), returning to E^b major in measure 9, which concludes the fourth line of text and the *A* section. A small one-measure interlude precedes the *B* section, which begins with a V⁹ chord in F minor; the D^b on top acts like an anacrusis to the voice line beginning on C and continuing in F minor. At the last line of text, which is repeated, Kjerulf moves through the harmonies of B^b major (m. 13) and E^b major (m. 14) as well as A^b major and F minor before returning to the tonic E^b major (m. 15). The Romantic influence is also noticeable in Kjerulf's use of keys and harmonic landscape to symbolize the protagonist's sentiments and feelings, e.g., in the third stanza, where the rapid changes from major and minor portray the changes between happiness and despair the protagonist is experiencing while waiting for the spirit of his lost love to appear among the moonlit tree limbs:

<i>A</i> Third stanza	<i>Keys and harmonic sonorities</i>
Don't close your eyes tonight, watch over your memories!	E ^b major:
While you sit here alone, they will appear before you,	(G minor; A ^b major)
<i>Interlude</i>	
<i>B</i>	
gentle shadows	F minor:
will enter waving	
among the moonlit tree limbs.	E ^b major:
among the moonlit tree limbs.	(A ^b major, F minor)

The romance concludes quietly with two eight-note *pianissimo* tonic chords in E^b major, which is preceded by a repetition of the opening two measures of the melodic line and the inverted five-note figure.

In a sense, *En Vaarnat* is a song without words, with words added, as the piano carries the melody throughout together with the singer; only in the last measure of each stanza does the singer carry the melodic line. In fact, Kjerulf later omitted the text and gave the piano score to Marie Garben.¹⁰ Kjerulf finished the score on 11 October 1851, and ten days later included the romance in a letter to Gude.¹¹

¹⁰The romance was never published as a piano piece. The score, 2354: 196, is in Norsk Musikkksamling, Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo.

¹¹Gude had married Kjerulf's long time friend and later piano student Betzy Anker. As a young man

In its sensitive, evocative treatment of Welhaven's text, *A Spring Night* is one of Kjerulf's finest early romances. This song marks the beginning of a highly productive epoch in the composer's life, when his "romance factory" was running tolerably well, as he puts it in a letter to Theodor.¹²

Kjerulf was alternatively infatuated with Betzy and her older sister Agnes, although his feelings for Betzy were more fatherly. Ultimately, Theodor married Agnes, while Kjerulf remained single. Nonetheless, he rejoiced with his brother and friend. Remembering his own unhappy encounter with love, he writes to Gude: "Alas – it was my life's misfortune that I was always lost in reverie and forsakenness – not due to modesty, but from doubt and despondency. That is why I now look back with pain upon the barren results of my youth." He adds, "It has been said that an artist's bride is Art itself and only that. But Art is rather like a Virgin Mary, whom only the few are able to adore and worship in spirit and truth, whereas She herself belongs to no one. But even though Art resembles a Virgin Mary, I have never heard that the artist has to be a Catholic priest, and I now see that you, if you ever had such a thought, being a sensible man, have abandoned it for a more liberal stance. . . . So you won her after all, you brave, and now your body is trembling with joy while you repeatedly ask yourself how it really could have happened that you attained such happiness." ["Ak – det var mit Livs Ulykke at jeg stedse blev siddende i Drømmen og forsagede – ei af Beskedenhed men af Tvivl og Modløshed. Og derfor seer jeg nu med Smerte tilbage paa min Ungdoms golde Resultater. (Man har sagt at en Kunstners Brud er Kunsten selv og den alene. Men Kunsten er snarere en Jomfru Maria hvem kun de Udvalgte kunne dyrke og tilbede i Aand og Sandhed, mens den selv ei udeelt tilhører nogen Enkelt. Men fordi Kunsten er en Jomfru Maria har jeg dog aldrig hørt at Kunstneren skal være nogen katolsk Præst og jeg seer nu at Du, om Du nogensinde har havt en saadan Tanke, som en fornuftig Mand har forladt den for en liberalere Anskuelse.) . . . Altsaa vandt Du hende dog, Du Dristige, og nu zitrer Dit Indre af Glæde mens Du dog idelig maa spørge Dig selv, hvorledes det egentlig er tilgaaet at Du kunde fortjene en saadan Lykke"] (Hans og Betsy Gudes breveksling [Hans and Betsy Gude's correspondence] 1934: 74).

¹²Moe 1918: 139.

12. Min Elskte, jeg er bunden [My Beloved, I am spellbound] HK 65

Min Elskte, jeg er bunden was set to music in March 1852. For Kjerulf it was a return to an old poem, *Lied* by von Platen:

Lass tief in dir mich lesen
verhehl auch diess mir nicht.
Was für ein Zauberwesen
aus deiner Stimme spricht,

which he first set around 1840 and published in his first collection of romances in 1842. Conceivably on Kjerulf's request, Welhaven translated the text around the spring of 1850.¹³ He beautifully captures the poem's sentiment:

Min Elskte, jeg er bunden
blot ved din Stemmes Magt;
der er paa Rosenmunden
en magisk Tone lagt.

Saa mangen klangfuld Stemme,
og mangt et Kvad med den,
har Øret villet gjemme
og glemte saa snart igjen.

Men om din Røst blot svæver
fra Læben svagt og let,
jeg lytter og jeg bæver,
og kan ei glemme det.

Der klinger dybt og længe
en Gjenlyd i mit Bryst;
thi alle Hjertets Strænge
er stemte af din Røst.

My beloved, I am spellbound
by the power of your voice.
On your rosy lips
is placed a magic tone.

So many a sonorous voice
and many a song they sang
that my ear wanted to retain
but soon forgot again.

But if your voice just drifts
from your lips soft and gentle,
I listen and I tremble,
and cannot forget.

Deep and long the sound
reverberates in my breast;
for all my heart strings
are tuned to your voice.

Min Elskte, jeg er bunden, written in the pan-European style, is one of Kjerulf's through-composed romances. The overall form is *AA'BA''*, where the first two stanzas constitute *A* and *A'*, the third *B*, and the fourth *A''* (Example 12). The romance, written in *D^b* major, is appropriately marked *allegretto grazioso*. An eight measure prelude, which is repeated at the end of the last stanza, sets up the romance's light character with its *staccato* broken

¹³The poem is not included in any of Welhaven's collections.

Min Elskte, jeg er bunden

Allegretto grazioso

p

7

Min Elsk - te, jeg er bun - den blot ved din Stem - mes Magt; der
 Mein Lieb, ich bin ge - bun - den, durch dei - ne Stim - me schon, sie

13

rit. a tempo

er paa Ro - sen - mun - den en ma - gisk To - ne lagt. Saa man - gen klang - fuld
 schlug mir süs - se Wun - den, mit ih - rem Zau - ber - ton. Oft hört ich hol - de

p

Example 12. Min Elskte, jeg er bunden [My Beloved, I am spellbound]. Page 1.

18

Stem - me og mangt et Kvad med den, har Ø - ret vil - let gjem - me, og
 Lie - der von Stim - men voll Ge - walt, wollt's nicht ver - ges - sen wie - der, ver -

cresc. *p*

23

glemt saa snart i - gjen.
 gass es a - ber bald.

cresc. *p* *dol.*

30

Men om din Røst blot svæ - ver fra Læ - ben svagt og let, jeg lyt - ter og jeg
 Wenn dei - ne Wor - te schwe - ben, vom Ro - sen - mun - de süß, da horch' ich und muss

p e leggiero

Min Elskte, jeg er bunden [My Beloved, I am spellbound]. Page 2.

36 *rit. marc.*

bæ - ver, og kan ei glem-me det. Jeg lyt - ter og jeg
 be - ben, denn nie ver-gess' ich dies, da horch'ich, und muss

dim.
col canto
mf
p

42

bæ - ver, jeg lyt - ter og jeg bæ - ver, og kan ei glem-me det!
 be - ben, da horch'ich, und muss be - ben, denn nie ver - gess' ich dies!

mf

48

Der klin - ger dybt og læn - ge en Gjen - lyd i mit Bryst; thi
 Des Her - zens Sai - ten klin - gen wie E - cho nach so tief, sie

dolce p
cresc.

Min Elskte, jeg er bunden [My Beloved, I am spellbound]. Page 3.

54 *cresc.*

al - le Hjer - tets Stren - ge er stem - te af din Røst, ja al - le Hjer - tets
 stimm - te ja dein Sin - gen, das mich in's Le - ben rief, sie stimmte ja dein

cresc. *f* *p*

59 *f*

Strenge er stem - te af din Røst, ja al - le Hjer - tets Strenge er stem - te af din
 Sin - gen, das mich in's Le - ben rief, sie stimm - te ja dein Sin - gen, das mich in's Le - ben

f *p*

8va ad lib.

65

Røst!
 rief!

p dolce *dim.*

Ad. sin al fine

Min Elskte, jeg er bunden [My Beloved, I am spellbound]. Page 4.

chordal pattern, a pattern that is only interrupted by two legato chords in the left hand in ms. 4-5, which corresponds to a tonicization of G^b major. The character is reinforced by the voice's light-hearted, dotted rhythmic tune. After a modulation to the dominant, A^b major at the end of the first line of text, Kjerulf, in response to Welhaven's text, "On your rosy lips is placed a magic tone," discontinues the bouncy accompaniment, and the word "magic" is emphasized by a preceding leap of a tritone and enforced with an arpeggiation.

A quick eight-note transition brings the key back to D^b major and the second stanza, marked *piano*. Instead of moving to the dominant, Kjerulf moves through the harmonies B^b minor and G^b minor (ms. 21-22) before bringing the vocal part to a conclusion on the tonic D^b major. At this point, the hitherto subservient accompaniment takes over the melodic line, and, after a sweeping arpeggiated G^b chord and a cadence in D^b major, the piano reaches F minor via a diminished seventh chord and moves into the *B* section.

The contrasting *B* section, marked *dolce e leggiero*, reflects a change of mood as the text becomes more introspective: "When the song flows from your sweet lips, I listen and tremble and cannot forget it." The accompaniment and voice become more flowing, and the dotted rhythm that permeates the voice line in section *A* subsides. In addition, the voice and the accompaniment exhibit a Schumannesque ambiguity: the vocal line gives the impression of being in B^b minor and the piano in F minor. The ambiguity is resolved in measure 36 where the key unquestionably emerges as F minor. At this moment, the piano picks up the little two-measure downward motive that Kjerulf introduced in the first stanza in ms. 15-16. The motive is repeated throughout the rest of the stanza, in part by the voice in ms. 37-38, in the accompaniment in ms. 30-34, and most noticeably in the dialogue between the voice and piano in measures 40 to 44. Furthermore, from measure 36 onwards, we find one of the rare occurrences of Kjerulf treating the text in a free manner, as he plays with the last two text lines, "I listen and I tremble, and cannot forget," a feature that gives the singer freedom of expression. The stanza ends on a major sixth chord and a subsequent return to D^b major.

In the last stanza, Kjerulf continues the mixture of dotted rhythm and flowing texture, and while the piano resumes its subservient role, the singer reiterates over and over the two last lines of Welhaven's poem, "for all my heart strings are tuned to your voice." The romance ends with an arpeggiated chord, as if to let the heart strings continue to reverberate endlessly.

My Beloved, I am spellbound shares many similarities with the previous Welhaven romance *A Spring Night* – the *staccato, piano* opening, the mainly downward motion interspersed with occasional upward leaps, the F minor sonority in the contrasting section, the quick changes in harmonic sonority, the pan-European setting – so many in fact, that one might speculate that they were written in succession. They were not; *A Spring Night* was

composed in October 1851 and *My Beloved* in March 1852. In between Kjerulf set four songs to texts by his brother Theodor, among them *Syng Nattergal!* [Sing, Nightingale!], a romance that he was extremely proud of. Nevertheless, both romances were published in Opus 2, *Romancer*, as numbers five and six, respectively. The most likely answer to their similarity is that Welhaven's two poems brought out the same feelings in Kjerulf, his love for Marie Garben, whom he could not have, and whose voice and beautiful piano playing reverberated in his heart.

The romance soon won admiration. In the fall of 1855, the Swedish Court singer Isak Berg and his daughter Helene visited Gude in Düsseldorf, where he had been offered a professorship at the Academy the previous year.¹⁴ Together they went through all of Kjerulf's songs in Gude's possession. Berg was particularly impressed with six of the songs, which he thought might find a publisher in Stockholm.¹⁵ Both father and daughter were particularly enchanted by *Min Elskte, jeg er bunden*. Gude writes to Kjerulf: "By the way, it would have pleased you to see the deeply felt interest and eagerness with which they rehearsed your things. Old Berg said you had to come to Stockholm. . . . Your songs have brought tears to our eyes the way we heard them performed . . . and therefore, please, please write more . . . and your reward will be that to many people your songs will bring the wonderful warm feeling that is worth more than all the gold in the world."¹⁶

Kjerulf's romances became a success in Sweden primarily owing to Helene Berg and her father. (Also the Swedish singers Louise Michaëli and Conrad Behrens spread Kjerulf's

¹⁴Gude soon became acquainted with many of Düsseldorf's artists, among them the violinist Joseph Joachim, whom he describes as a noble character through and through, and Johannes Brahms. Gude writes, "Brahms interests me more and more. I visited him yesterday afternoon; he sat at his grand piano as I entered, and [I] saw just his long yellow hair hanging down over the keys. A large secretary desk was open, on which Sebastopol's siege was displayed with thousands of tin soldiers, canons, and fortresses. Mrs. Schumann's children had probably been there. . . . [Brahms] wants to study Latin because it is of vital importance, he says, and incidentally he studies with great intensity, composes, and plays just (a) little, but when he plays, it is indeed superb. He often visits us." ["Brahms interesserede mig meget og meget. Igaar Middag var jeg deroppe; han sad ved Flygelet, da jeg kom ind, og saa blot det lange gule Haar, som hang ned over Tasterne. En stor Secretairklap var nedslaaet, og paa den var opstillet hele Sebastopos Beleiring med vist tusinde Tinsoldater og kanoner og Fæstninger. Fru Schumanns Børn havde vel været derinde. . . . Saa vil han studere Latin; thi det er absolut nødvendigt, mener han, og forresten studerer han voldsomt, komponerer og spiller lidet, men naar han spiller, saa er det rigtignok mageløst. Han kommer ofte til os."] (Moe 1918: 154-55).

¹⁵Due to his contact with Berg, the before mentioned publisher Hirsch became the major publisher of Kjerulf's works, issuing both his songs and piano pieces.

¹⁶"Forresten vilde det have gledet Dig at see med hvilken inderlig Interesse og Iver de instuderede dine Sager. Gamle Berg meente, at Du endelig engang maatte komme til Stockholm. . . . Dine Viser har lokket Taarerne ud af Øinene paa os, saadan som vi nu hørte dem . . . og derfor endelig, endelig skriv flere . . . og Du skal have den Tilfredsstillelse, at det skal skaffe mange Mennesker den usigelige varme Følelse, som er mere værd end al Verdens Guld" (Moe 1918: 151-52).

fame.¹⁷) Kjerulf's friend Nicolaysen describes Helene's performance of *Min Elskte, jeg er bunden* three years later in a letter to the composer: "She sings the first part with such ease, she speaks from her heart and looks so happy that one envies the recipient of such true feelings. In the middle section another expression enters her face; she listens, she trembles, she nearly sinks under the stream of her feelings, but she once more rises and 'a sound resonates deep and long in my chest' – she pours out an abundance of long full notes in the last movement, the end of which she, as it were, sings to herself, introspective towards herself."¹⁸ Kjerulf answers, "[You] fortunate friend who has the opportunity to hear such wonders and amiable ditto [friend] who gives the absent and lonely such an extensive description of what you saw and heard!,"¹⁹ and asked him please to send him a similar description if he had the chance of hearing her again.

In April 1859, Kjerulf wrote in his diary that the Swedish critic Rubenson, in a concert review in *Musiktidning* [Music Review], had described one of his songs as "extraordinarily beautiful." He added, with pride: "it was, of course, *Min Elskte, jeg er bunden*."²⁰ Not everybody was equally enthused: The Swedish composer Ludwig Norman, whom Kjerulf met in Leipzig, admired greatly as an artist, and whose opinion he valued above most, characterized the romance as "pretty, but not exactly expressing something new," to which Kjerulf responded: "well – he is probably right."²¹

¹⁷Grinde 2003: 221, 232.

¹⁸"Hun synger den første Deel saa let hen, hun reciterer sit Hjertes Tilstand og seer saa glad ud, at man misunder Gjenstanden for saa sand Følelse. I Mellemsatsen kommer der et andet Udtryk i hendes Ansigt; hun lytter, hun bæver, hun synker næsten under sine Følelsers Strøm, men hun reiser sig atter, og der klinger dybt og længe en Gjenlyd i mit Bryst - hun udøser hele sin Fylde af lange, fulde Toner i den sidste Sats, hvis Slutning hun synger likesom for sig selv, indadvendt mod sig selv" (Moe 1918: 164).

¹⁹"Lykkelige Ven som kan faa høre saadant og elskværdige ditto som giver den fraværende Ensomme saa righoldig Meddelelse om, hvad du saa og hørte!" (Moe 1918: 166.)

²⁰Kjerulf's unpublished diaries, 22 April 1859.

²¹"Behagelig skjönt ikke just noget Nyt sigende. ... Nu – Ret kunde han vel have" (Moe 1918: 206).

13. Foraarsdigt [Spring Poem] HK 69, HK 154

Kjerulf's "romance factory" was indeed running well. Already in June 1852 he set the next Welhaven text, *Spring Poem*, to music. Maybe unknown to the composer, a sweet story is connected to the poem:²² after having falling madly in love with Ida in the spring of 1837, Welhaven proposed to her in a letter marked "The morning after the ball," on 10 April: "Were I to stand before you, I would hardly look into these wondrous eyes, with which I so often have believed to exchange a quiet and intimate conversation, but I would place my finger on my lips and ask you to be silent until you have 'consulted your own kind heart' and let me know what you there have decided."²³

Later, in a glowing letter to his sister Maren, to whom he was very close, Welhaven writes,

How happy you are! I know you so well; I see and love your beautiful small children. Also here your picture is tied to my inner being, to a quiet, however deep longing in my soul. I will reveal it to you in this little poem, which I wrote among several over the summer:

Zephyr legede med Grenen,
Bækken over Stenen sprang.
Ved mit Vindue i Sirenen
sad en lille Fugl og sang.

Zephyr was playing with a branch,
merrily the stream-let sprang.
In the purple lilac flowers
sat a little bird and sang.

Og den saa med kloge Blikke
Vaarens Længsel i min Hu,
Og den spurgte: Har du ikke
kaaret dig en Brud endnu.

And she asked, 'tis lovely spring-time,
yet you sigh so all alone.
Have you not some pretty maiden,
one to call your love, your own?

Mangen gang i Somrens Hede
vented jeg min Fugl igjen;
Ak, da sad den i sin Rede,
Rosen skyggede over den.

Later in the sultry summer
when the roses bear the best,
In a bed of creamy blossoms
there I found her tiny nest.

(Translated by T. Marzials.)

²²The poem, usually referred to as *Zephyr legede med grenen* [Zephyr was playing with a branch], was published in Welhaven's first poetry collection as number four of five *Spring Poems*.

²³"Om jeg nu stod for Dem, kunde jeg neppe see Dem ind i disse underbare Øine, med hvilke jeg saa ofte har troet at vexle en stille og fortrolig Tale, men jeg vilde lægge Fingeren paa min Mund og dermed bede Dem om indtil De har 'raadført Dem med Deres eget Hjertelag' og ladet mig vide, hvad De der har besluttet" (WSV V: 74).

My precious sister – I love you so dearly. Can I say more? I know that you for ever between your loved ones will keep in your heart your faithful and wistful brother Johan.²⁴

Kjerulf, too, might have felt “a quiet and deep longing in [his] soul” at this time, owing to his many encounters with Marie Garben for whom he had just written an *Elegie*.²⁵ Possibly for this reason, his setting of *Spring Poem* in this same year is light and subdued. Once again he chooses the pan-European style, which matches the sentiment of the text, as well as a through-composed setting; the main form is *AAB* (Example 13). As so often before, he repeats the last line of the stanza as a means of prolonging the short poem. The end result, however, sounds more like a sketch than a fully developed romance. The key progressions, oscillating between A major and E major, are unsophisticated, and the voice, which carries the melodic line, is accompanied predominantly by arpeggiated chords on top of a minimal bass line. Furthermore, the leaps that the composer inserts with great frequency make the melody sound contrived. The only time the “little bird” sings is in the soprano line in measures 21-22 and 51-52.

When Gude visited Norway in 1853. Kjerulf gave him the romance, which Gude brought back to Düsseldorf. After Berg and his daughter went through the Kjerulf songs there, Berg commented that although *Spring Poem* was “a beautiful musical thought,” it sounded interrupted and was not a real *visé*. He also found the accompaniment too difficult and too dominating for the voice line.²⁶ These comments probably convinced the composer to withdraw *Spring Poem* from publication.²⁷

The later 1859 version of *Spring Poem* [HK 154] is a far step from Kjerulf’s previous setting of the lyrics (Example 13a). The first version’s tranquil sentiment is exchanged for a *grazioso* airy setting; this time spring *really* is in the air. In addition, the second version abounds with clever details. Once more Kjerulf chooses a through-composed setting, now with the structure: *a* (ms. 1-4), *a* (ms. 5-8), *b* (ms. 11-14), *a'* (ms. 15-20) *b'* (ms. 23-26), *a''* (ms. 27-32.) The romance, set in G major, begins with one of many small motives that are used as unifying features throughout the piece, e.g., measures one, five, 15, and 27 (in minor). Between the stanzas, Kjerulf inserts a two-measure interlude, a “bird-call,” which

²⁴“Hvor du er lykkelig! Jeg kjender dig nu igjen saa nøie; jeg seer og elsker dine nydelige Smaabørn. Ogsaa her knytter dit Billede sig til mit inderste Væsen, til en stille, men dyb Længsel i min Sjæl. Jeg vil røbe den for dig i dette lille Digt, som jeg blandt mange andre skrev i Sommer. . . . Min dyrebare Søster – Jeg elsker dig saa inderlig. Kan jeg sige mere? Jeg veed at du stedse imellem dine Kjæreste vil bevare i Hjertet din trofaste og længselfulde Broder Johan” (WSV V: 77-78).

²⁵*Elegie*. “For Marie Garben.” April, 1852 (Grinde 1954: 25).

²⁶Moe 1918: 152.

²⁷The romance was first published by Grinde in *Halfdan Kjerulf. Collected Romances* in 1977.

Foraarsdigt, 1852

Allegretto tranquillo

Ze - phyr le - ge - de med

dolce p

5 Gre - nen, Bok - ken o - ver

9 Ste - nen sprang.

p

Example 13. Foraarsdigt [Spring Poem], 1852 version. Page 1.

13

Ved mit Vin - due, i Sy - re - nen, sad en

18

lil - le Fugl og sang, *cresc.* *pp* 8va

23

sad en lil - le Fugl og sang. *loco* *p*

28

The image displays four systems of musical notation for a song. Each system consists of a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (grand staff). The key signature is D major (two sharps). The first system (measures 13-17) features a vocal line with the lyrics 'Ved mit Vin - due, i Sy - re - nen, sad en' and a piano accompaniment with a steady eighth-note pattern. The second system (measures 18-22) continues the vocal line with 'lil - le Fugl og sang,' and includes piano markings 'cresc.' and 'pp'. The piano accompaniment features a more complex, flowing eighth-note pattern. The third system (measures 23-27) shows the vocal line with 'sad en lil - le Fugl og sang.' and a piano accompaniment with a similar eighth-note pattern. The fourth system (measures 28-32) shows the vocal line with a whole rest, indicating the end of the vocal part, while the piano accompaniment continues with its eighth-note pattern. The page number '163' is at the bottom.

33

Og den saae med klo - ge Blik - ke Vaa - rens

38

Læng - sel i min Hu,

43

og den spurg - te: »Har du ik - ke kaa - ret

48

dig en Brud end - nu? gva-

pp

53

kaa - ret dig en Brud end - nu?

loco

58

Mang - en - gang i

63

Som - rens He - de, ven - ted jeg min Fugl i -

68

gjen,

pp

73

Ak, da sad den i sin Re - de,

77 **poco rall.**

Ro - sen skyg - ged o - ver den, Ro - sen

82

skyg - ged o - ver den.

87 *smorz.*

smorz.

Foraarsdigt [Spring Poem], 1852 version. Page 5.

he also uses as a postlude as well as in augmentation in the accompaniment in the *b* section (ms. 9-10, 21-22, 33-34.) To vary the sentiment, he employs a trick, later copied by Grieg; he sets the *b'* section and the first part of *a''* section, (ms. 23-30) in the parallel key of G minor, and changes the tempo slightly (ms. 28-30). The last part of the *a''* section and the postlude, however, are in G major.

The romance contains a number of Kjerulf's favorite features: a pedal in either the outer or inner voices, e.g., in the opening six measures and measures nine to 14, 21 to 25, 33 and 34; fully diminished seventh-chords, quick visits to subdominant keys, a repetition of the final line of the stanzas in the second and third verse, and an extension of the final cadence which ends on the mediant. As in his best romances, the voice and accompaniment work in symbiosis, complementing and enriching each other.

According to Grinde, Kjerulf rewrote the romance in September 1859 during the Berg family's two months long visit to Christiania, a visit that would culminate in a large public concert on 23 September with father and daughter as main performers.²⁸ Kjerulf had eagerly anticipated the event. His diary and letters, written during and after their stay, are glowing with enthusiasm, both owing to their performing his songs and his veneration for Miss Berg's voice. "Helene's beautiful and animated singing is still reverberating in my ear, and her sweet nature is deeply engraved in my memory,"²⁹ he writes to his dear friend Nicolaysen.

The admiration was mutual. Helene's letter, dated 14 July 1860, which begins, "My dear kind Mr. Kjerulf!" [Min bäste snälle Herr Kjerulf!] and her father's, "My dear Halfdan!" [Min gode Halfdan!], and his greeting, "keep in loving consideration your dedicated friend" [behåll i hjertlig åtanke din tillgifne vän], show their deep affection for the composer. To Kjerulf's delight Nicolaysen responded that in Berg's opinion, "You are the only one who is capable of taking the musical development under your wings."³⁰

Kjerulf's letters and diaries also give a wonderful account of the performance practice at the time. The Bergs met with Kjerulf's family and friends several times per week for dinner, and the music flowed: "This evening at the Bergs'. . . Helene was all kindness and sang quite a lot. The duets [with her father] from 'The Crown Jewels' ['Les diamants de la couronne' by Auber] and 'Montenero' ['Le Chateau de Montenero' by Nicolas Dalayrac]. The trio from the same (with Berg and Mrs. Berg). Mine: 'My Beloved, [I am bound],'

²⁸Despite Kjerulf's high hopes and a sold-out house, the concert was not a success. Helene, who beforehand had been compared to Jenny Lind, did not have a big enough voice for the Christiania Theater where the concert was held, and she had no stage presence. In addition, the audience found Berg past his prime (Moe 1918: 230).

²⁹"Helenes skjønnne besjælede Sang klinger i mit Øre, og hendes søde Væsen er dybt indpræget i mit Minde" (Moe 1918: 233).

³⁰"Du er den Eneste, som formaar at tage den musikalske Udvikling under Dine Vinger" (Moe 1918: 235).

Foraarsdigt, 1859

Grazioso
poco riten. **a tempo**

Ze - phyr le - ge - de med Gre - nen, Bækken o - ver ste - nen sprang;
Ze - phyr spielte mit den Zweigen, Bächlein ü - ber Stei - ne sprang;

ved mit vindre i Sy - re - nen sad en lil - le Fugl og sang.
wo sich Fliederbüsche nei - gen sass ein Wald - vög - lein und sang.

Og den saa med klo - ge Blik - ke
Und es sag - te: „was doch ful - let

Vaa - rens Længsel i min Hu, og den spurgte: Har du ik - ke
Fruh - lings - sehn - sucht dich mit Schmerz? ei - nes giebt's nur, das sie stil - let,

rit. **a tempo**
col canto

The image shows a musical score for a song titled 'Foraarsdigt, 1859'. It is a vocal and piano piece in 2/4 time, key of D major. The score is divided into four systems. The first system starts with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line has lyrics in Danish and German. The piano accompaniment has a melody in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The second system continues the vocal and piano parts. The third system has a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The fourth system continues the vocal and piano parts. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'p' (piano), 'dol.' (dolce), and 'rit.' (ritardando). The tempo markings are 'Grazioso', 'poco riten.', 'a tempo', and 'rit.'.

Example 13a. Foraarsdigt [Spring Poem], 1859 version. Page 1.

17 *riten. p a tempo*

kaa - ret dig en Brud end - nu, kaa - ret dig en Brud end - nu? »
 hat noch kei - ne Braut dein Herz, hat noch kei - ne Braut dein Herz? »

21 *dol.*

Man - gen gang i Som - rens He - de
 Manchmal, in des Som - mers Hit - ze,

25 *un poco riten.*

ven - ted jeg min Fugl i - gjen; ak da sad den i sin Re - de,
 schaut' ich nach dem Vö - ge - lein. Sass im Nest auf kühlem Sit - ze

29 *rit. ad. lib. a tempo*

Ro - sen skyg - ged o - ver den, Ro - sen skyg - ged o - ver den.
 Ro - sen schat - tend schau'n hin - ein, Ro - sen schat - tend schau'n hin - ein.

33 *rall. pp*

The musical score is written for voice and piano. It consists of five systems of music. The first system (measures 17-20) features a vocal melody with lyrics in Norwegian and German, and a piano accompaniment. The second system (measures 21-24) continues the vocal melody and piano accompaniment. The third system (measures 25-28) features a vocal melody with lyrics in Norwegian and German, and a piano accompaniment. The fourth system (measures 29-32) features a vocal melody with lyrics in Norwegian and German, and a piano accompaniment. The fifth system (measures 33-36) features a vocal melody with lyrics in Norwegian and German, and a piano accompaniment. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

‘Know’st You the Path,’ [Text by Theodor Kjerulf], ‘Rest in the Woods’ (best). The slow movement from the Queen of the Night’s aria. The Aragonese song from ‘Domino Noir’ [Auber]. (Magnificent). The old Berceuse – ‘Mes yeux ont souris un amant.’ The Rondo – the fast – the Tuscan – the sad ‘Dalkulle’ [Swedish ballad] – The aria from ‘La Sirene’ [Auber] – 2 of 3 duets by Durante. One never gets enough of this.”³¹

The Welhavens were invited to Kjerulf’s first dinner for the Bergs. Kjerulf writes in his diary that “Papa Berg” and Welhaven did not quite get along; Berg did not seem impressed by the not-so-musical poet and professor, and Welhaven did not find that Berg possessed any knowledge apart from “the pianoforte.” In addition, Welhaven did not at first understand Helene’s singing, however, he eventually warmed up to her song and became ecstatic after her performance of two Swedish ballads.³³ During a later dinner Welhaven was “charmed” and “charmant” and called Helene a “muse.” He also gave her a signed copy of his *Half Hundred Poems*, “exactly what I had expected!,” as Kjerulf comments in his diary.³⁴ Kjerulf gave Helene a copy of his French chanson *A toi* and *Zephyr legede med Grenen*. Whether she liked the latter is not known; however, it was not among the romances that Berg chose for publication in Stockholm in 1859.³⁵

³¹“I aften hos Bergs. . . . Helene var Elskværdigheden selv og sang temmelig meget. Duetterne af ‘Kronjuvelerne’ og ‘Montenero’. Tersetten of samme (med Berg og Fru Berg) Mine: ‘Min Elskte,’ ‘Vidste Du Vei,’ ‘Hvile i Skoven.’ Den langsomme sats af Nattens Dronnings Arie. Den arragonesiske Vise of ‘Domino Noir.’ (Prægtigt). The old Berceuse – ‘Mes yeux ont souris un amant.’ Arien of ‘La Sirene’ – 2 a 3 duetter af Durante. Man faar aldrig formeget af dette.”³² Other guests entertained as well, including Kjerulf’s male quartet, which surprised Berg with its “blend of voices, tone color, accentuation, and liveliness” (Moe 1918: 232).

³³Kjerulf’s unpublished diaries, 16 Aug. 1859.

³⁴Ibid., 30 Sept. 1859.

³⁵*Spring Poem* was published in 1863 in Opus 11, No. 3, a collection of songs dedicated to Kjerulf’s niece Marie Friele, née Lasson.

14. Aftenkvad i Maaneskin [Evening song in the Moonlight] HK 79

The lyrics of *Aftenkvad i Maaneskin* are not Welhaven's original, but his translation of a poem by Wilhelm Müller, *Abendreihn* from his *Wanderlieder eines rheinischen Handwerksburschen*, a poem Müller strangely valued as one of his poetical gems.³⁶

Guten Abend, lieber Mondenschein,
Wie blickst mir so traulich in Herz hinein;
Nun sprich und lass dich nicht lange fragen,
Du hast mir gewiss einen Gruss zu sagen,
Einen Gruss von meinem Schatz!

Wie soll ich bringen den Gruss zu dir?
Hab' ich doch keinen Schatz bei mir;
Und was mir da unten die Burschen sagen,
Und was mir die Frauen und Mädchen klagen,
Ei, das versteh' ich nicht!

Hast Recht, du lieber Mondenschein,
Du darfst auch Schätzchens Bote nicht sein,
Denn tät'st du zu tief ihr in's Auge sehen,
Du könntest ja nimmermehr untergehen,
Schienst ewig nur für sie!

Dies Liedchen ist ein Abendreih'n,
Ein Wanderer sang's im Vollmondschein,
Und die es lesen bei Kerzenlicht,
Die Leute verstehen das Liedchen nicht,
Und ist doch kinderleicht!

Kjerulf tried to set the German lyrics to music in February 1853, but, after much struggling, abandoned the score.³⁷ With Welhaven's translation in hand – a translation Kjerulf may have requested – he gave the poem another try.

The airy melody and simplistic accompaniment mirror the light sentiment of the text:

³⁶Hauge, WSV II: 474. The poem is set to music by Fanny Mendelssohn-Henschel and Max Reger, among others.

³⁷The unfinished score, labelled 1459: 101, is in Norsk Musikkksamling, Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo (Grinde 1977: 245).

God Aften kjære Maaneskin,
 du seer mig saa venligt i Hjertet ind.
 O, siig og lad dig ei lenge spørge,
 en Hilsen har du dog vist at besørge,
 en Hilsen fra min Skat.

Good evening dear moonshine,
 you who look so kindly into my heart.
 Oh, tell and do not take too long,
 you certainly have a greeting for me,
 a greeting from my sweetheart.

The moon answers that it cannot bring him any message from his sweetheart, since it does not understand what the young lovers on earth are saying. “You are right,” says the protagonist, adding that if the moon were able to look into his sweetheart’s eyes, it would never be able to retire for the night. Welhaven’s translation of the last stanza reads,

Min Sang blev til i Aftnens Vind.
 Jeg nynnede den ved Maaneskin;
 men skal den læses, hvor Lys er tændt,
 da falder den svær og bliver forvendt,
 og er dog yderst let!

I wrote my song in the evening breeze.
 I hummed it in the moonlight;
 but if it is read in the lamplight,
 it becomes difficult and changed,
 although it is utterly light!

Evening song in the Moonlight is marked *andantino quasi allegretto* and written in 2/4 meter (Example 14). The romance opens with a sixteenth rest – a quick breath – followed by a four measure prelude consisting of a series of unison progressions, which move from *mezzo forte* to *pianissimo*, culminating in three *staccato* chords intercepted by rests. All progressions and chords outline the opening key of F major.

The four stanzas are set in a quasi strophic manner, the first and the third stanzas are identical, the second has a divergent ending and is in the relative minor, while the last stanza has a different beginning. All have the following structure: *a* (four measures,) *b* (two measures), *b'* (two measures), and *c* (four measures). Again the last line of text is repeated.

To add to the light texture, the accompaniment follows the voice subserviently in *mezzo piano* in the first measures and then continues in arpeggiated sixteenth notes often intercepted by rests. The light character and airy rests, which are present throughout the setting and sometimes mimic an echo between the voice and the accompaniment (ms. 13-14), allude to the lightheartedness that the moonshine induces in the protagonist, his amiable conversation with the moon, and the echo that the distance between the two causes. Immediately prior to the echo, with a *crescendo*, Kjerulf takes the melodic line up to a high F, then pauses for a moment, and suddenly introduces a major mediant chord which sounds totally contrived.

With the exception of a dominant chord in C major in measure eight, the romance remains in F major until the repetition of the last line of text, which Kjerulf introduces with

Aftenkvad i Maaneskin

Andantino quasi allegretto

The musical score is written for voice and piano. It begins with a piano introduction in 2/4 time, marked 'Andantino quasi allegretto'. The piano part features a melody in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand, with dynamics *mf*, *p*, and *pp*. The voice enters at measure 3 with the lyrics 'God At - ten kjæ - re Maa - ne - skin, du'. The piano accompaniment continues with a steady bass line and chords in the right hand, marked *mp*. The voice continues with the lyrics 'seer mig saa ven - ligt i Hjer - tet ind: O siig og lad dig ei'.

3
God At - ten kjæ - re Maa - ne - skin, du

7
seer mig saa ven - ligt i Hjer - tet ind: O siig og lad dig ei

Example 14. Aftenkvad i Maaneskin [Evening song in the Moonlight]. Page 1.

10
 len - ge spør - ge, en Hil - sen har du dog vist at be-sør- ge, en
cresc.

13
 Hil - sen fra min Skat, en Hil - sen tra min

16
 Skat.
p *gva-*

19
gva- *loco* »En Hil - sen kan jeg ei

Aftenkvad i Maaneskin [Evening song in the Moonlight]. Page 2.

22

brin - ge dig, min Kjæ - re du har in - gen Skat hos mig og

25

Alt hvad El - sker-ne si - ge der-ne - de, og Alt hvad sig Pi - ger og

28

Ko - ner ud-be - de, ak, det for-staaer jeg ei, ak

31

rit. Tempo I.

det for - staaer jeg ei! »

ten.

Aftenkvad i Maaneskin [Evening song in the Moonlight]. Page 3.

34 *mf*
 Bra - vo min kjæ - re Maa - ne - skin, du skal ei hil - se fra

37
 Kjæ - res-ten min, thi saa du for dybt i det kla - re Oi - e, da

40
 kun - de du al - drig til Ro dig for-foi - e, blev op - pe for hen - des

43
 Skyld blev op - pe for hen - des Skyld.

cresc. *p*

Aftenkvad i Maaneskin [Evening song in the Moonlight]. Page 4.

46

8va *loco*

pp *p*

49

dol.

p

Min Sang blev til i

53

Aft - nens Vind. Jeg

56

nyn - ned den ved Maa - ne - skin; men skal den læ - ses hvor

Aftenkvad i Maaneskin [Evening song in the Moonlight]. Page 5.

59

Lys er tændt da fal - der den svær og bli - ver for-vendt, og

P

62

er dog y - derst let, og er dog y - derst

65

let!

gva

pp

68

gva

loco

pp

Aftenkvad i Maaneskin [Evening song in the Moonlight]. Page 6.

a diminished seventh-chord and a quick move to G minor, before the conclusion in F major. The prelude – which is used as a unifying device between stanzas, as well as a postlude – returns in inversion.

The second stanza, in which the moon tells the young man that it cannot bring him any message from his sweetheart, is essentially a repetition of the first transposed down a third to the relative minor, with the exception of the last four measures, i.e., *c* (ms. 29-31), where the voice moves to a high G on the word *ak* [alas] – the ultimate pitch of the romance – and then concludes by moving up instead of down at the cadence. The accompaniment and key progressions, however, are quite different from the first stanza: The first three measures of the *a* section is in D minor, the fourth measure is a V/V moving to I/V, which Kjerulf brings directly to a VI-chord in D minor in measure 25. At the end of measure 27 he moves to a V^7/III , and then proceeds to a V-chord in D minor followed by a diminished seventh-chord on the word *ei* [not] (m. 30). At the conclusion of the stanza Kjerulf leaves out the interlude; instead he inserts two measures which constitute a stepwise descent from D to B^b culminating in a long rest, an insertion which seems to have no function other than to bring the key back to F major and the beginning of the third stanza.

While the third stanza is a repetition of the first, in the fourth stanza – which is preceded by a prelude identical to that preceding the second stanza – the *a* section is extended from four to eight measures (ms. 50-58) and begins with a duet between the piano and the voice where the piano carries the melodic line. In addition, the opening harmony has been changed to an extended V/IV-chord, which, after the voice enters in measure 52, moves to the tonic in B^b major. Subsequently, the piano repeats the opening measures in G minor, and then, as the voice reenters in measure 56, the key swiftly changes to a V-chord in F major. Contrary to the previous *a* sections, the piano now follows the harmonic rhythm of the voice. In measure 58, Kjerulf reverts to the voice-piano relationship of the earlier stanzas, i.e., an accompaniment consisting predominantly of sixteenth notes running parallel to the melody.

Like Kjerulf's first setting of *Spring Poem, Evening song in the Moonlight* was not published by the composer, an appropriate decision, as text and music are inferior to both poet and composer.³⁸ Moreover, the romance is a quintessential example of Kjerulf's occasional poor text setting. Although he loved "the music of the language above all,"³⁹ as the Norwegian musicologist Ole Mørk Sandvik points out, "The fine connoisseur and lover of poetry did not possess an equal sense of how a sentence cadences and the natural stress of a word. His accentuation is often anything but good."⁴⁰ In spite of the fact that the lyrics are set

³⁸Welhaven did not publish *Aftenkvad i Maaneskin* in any of his poetry collections.

³⁹Letter to Theodor Kjerulf (Moe 1918: 145).

⁴⁰"Den fine kjenner og elsker av poesi hadde dog ikke en tilsvarende sans for selve setningens fald eller

as strophic variations, the music still does not fit Welhaven's lyrics well: the syllabic accentuations are often forced or in the wrong places. Consequently, the music does not flow, rendering the romance stilted and difficult to perform.

In 1862 Kjerulf set Welhaven's text as a duet between the protagonist and the moon under the name *En Maaneskinsvisse* [A Moonlight ballad], his conclusive setting of the poem.⁴¹

ordets naturlige vegt. Han aksentuerer ofte alt andet end godt" (1915: 358).

⁴¹Grinde 2003: 130. *En Maaneskinsvisse* was published in Grinde 1977: 214. The original score, 2676: 216, is in Norsk Musikkksamling, Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo.

15. Lokkende Toner [Alluring Strains] HK 101

On 17 November 1854 Kjerulf made the following entry in his diary: “Two days ago I received a poem, written in romance form, from Welhaven, *Lokkende Toner* [Alluring Strains], which I yesterday set as a Nordic folk tune. D major.”⁴² What Kjerulf meant with “romance form” is not clear, however, Welhaven’s poem is a *ballade* – not to be confused with the *ballad* – one of the principal forms of music and poetry in 14th and 15th century France, which Kjerulf very well might have known. The *ballade* consists of three main stanzas, each with the same rhyme, plus a shorter fourth stanza, called an envoi, all with the same refrain. Welhaven left out the envoi, but otherwise his poem is identical in form to the *ballade*.

Lokkende Toner is among Welhaven’s last poems, and one senses the poet’s longing for something that he cannot reach, yet he keeps wandering without knowing where it might take him (as mentioned earlier, a familiar trope in romantic poetry and painting in the early 1800s). The poet-protagonist is lured away from the beaten path by a bird calling, “*tirilil tove*, far, far away in the woods.” He follows the song and reaches hidden wells and tarns where the elks come to quench their thirst. Still the bird’s voice is distant and blends with the wind’s sigh. Then, as the sun sets, the mountain shines like gold, and the dew glitters in the valley, he distinctly hears “from mountain and trees, the alluring strains: *tirilil tove*, far, far away in the woods.”

Der fløi en Fugl over Granehei,
som synger de kjendte Sange;
den lokked mig bort fra slagen Vei
og ind paa skyggede Gange.
Jeg kom til skjulte Kilder og Kjern,
hvor Elgene Tørsten slukke;
men Fuglesangen lød endnu fjern
som Nyn mellem Vindens Sukke:
Tirrili Tove,
langt, langt bort i Skove!

A bird flew over the pine-covered hills,
singing the well-known songs;
it lured me away from the beaten path
and into the shaded trails.
It led me to hidden springs and tarns
where the elks were quenching their thirst;
the song of the bird yet sounded afar
humming through sighs of the wind:
Tirrili Tove,
far, far away in the woods!

⁴² “Iforgaars fik jeg et Digt i Romanceform av Welhaven *Lokkende Toner* som jeg igaar componerede i nordisk Visetone. D-dur” (Kjerulf’s unpublished diaries, 17 Nov. 1854).

Der fører en Sti saa langt af Led
 til Lien, hvor Fuglen bygger;
 der stemmer den op hver Sang, den ved,
 i dunkleste Graneskygger.
 Men om jeg aldrig kan vinde did,
 jeg kjender dog Lokkesangen,
 hvor sødt den kalder ved Sommertid,
 naar Kvelden har dugget Vangen:

Tirrili Tove,
 langt, langt bort i Skove!

There is a remote path which leads to
 the hillside where the bird is nesting;
 there it sings all the songs it knows
 in the dark shadow of the pine trees.
 Yet, if I never can reach the place
 I know the alluring strains
 how sweet they call in the summer-time
 when the evening dew has covered
 the meadow:
 Tirrili Tove,
 far, far away in the woods!

Hauge argues that the poem is about “a lifelong vague yearning for an unattainable goal, the ungraspable spirit of nature, which is symbolized by the ever receding bird. Here the poet is willing to follow the enticing strains into the darkest depths of the wood. He cannot, however, become consumed by the mystery of nature; he cannot penetrate nature’s innermost secret.”⁴³

Lokkende toner is one of the few Welhaven poems with a refrain. The refrain, “tirrili tove, far away in the woods” may stem from a well-known nursery rhyme from Welhaven’s childhood, originating in a legend about a girl who was abducted by a gang of bandits. To get help, she played a *vise* on her lure: “Tirrili tove, twelve men in the woods/ beating the kids, killing the dog, tying up the cow, stinging the bull, me they want to rape/ far away under the mountain in the woods.”⁴⁴ By using the same refrain, Welhaven could elicit the feeling of being held captive in the mountain, like people often were in the legends of the time, and also allude to the poet as a romantic wanderer who would never reach his destination.

The strong romantic nationalism of the lyrics inspired Kjerulf to write one of his finest Norwegian style romances. The poet’s longing for the valley where the bird is singing, but never reaches, is beautifully portrayed by setting up the voice line in circular fashion delicately beginning and ending on the fifth scale degree in D major. In addition, the opening and concluding measures, also in D major, contain the same harmonic progressions, fourth and fifths, albeit Kjerulf moves from the opening A to a concluding D in the bass, thereby cadencing on the tonic.

⁴³ “Det er et dikt om den ubestemte livslange lengsel etter et uoppnåelig mål, den ufattelige naturens ånd, som den flyktende fugl symboliserer. Her tør dikteren følge det lokkende kall inn i skogens dunkleste dyp. Oppslukt av naturens mystikk kan han likevel ikke bli. Inn til naturens dypeste hemmelighet kan han ikke komme” (Hauge 1955: 57).

⁴⁴ Hauge, WSV II: 490. The rhyme is published in Andreas Faye, *Norske Sagn* [Norwegian Legends] (Arendal: N. C. Waldø Bogtrykkerie, 1833) 246.

The connection to folk music is established immediately with a four-measure introduction consisting of repeated chords over a bass pedal. The 2/4 meter, dotted rhythm, open fifths, octaves, strong dissonances, triplets, embellishments, and grace notes all allude to Norwegian folk tunes, as do the strophic setting and predominantly supporting accompaniment (Example 15). The romance also contains a melodic device, a move from the tonic to the dominant by way of a falling semitone plus a major third, e.g., measure 21, 22, 23, and 24. This device, although commonly known as the “Grieg motive,” and particularly associated with the opening of Grieg’s *Piano Concerto in A minor* Op. 16, in fact originated in Norwegian folk music. It was then used by Thrane in *Fjeldeventyret* [The Mountain Adventure] in 1825, 20 years before Kjerulf, and more than 40 years before Grieg.⁴⁵

The romance begins with a small ritornello consisting of IV and V chords echoing each other, the first two chords are marked *piano*, the next *pianissimo*, emphasizing the pitches B and A. This chord progression continues as the voice enters, supporting its heavily dotted melodic line (which stays mainly around A). The first four measures – the antecedent phrase – end with a repetition of the pitches A and B; these four measures are then repeated in the consequent phrase with added octaves in the bass. In measure 13 – as the poet approaches the hidden wells and tarns – Kjerulf abruptly induces a hushed mood by switching to the parallel D minor. Then, making a quick visit to F major, he again concludes the antecedent phrase with the pitches B^b and A, and moves back to D minor. The return to the minor key is marked *sotto voce*, implying that the bird’s song is still far away. At the end of the stanza, in anticipation of the alluring strains, Kjerulf moves to the lighter A major, concluding the consequent phrase with D, C[#], B and A.

The refrain, i.e., the birdcall, is set as an echo between the piano and the voice and built on the “Grieg motive,” D, C[#], A, which is alluded to in measure 20. This is the only time the accompaniment plays a prominent role. Marked *pianissimo*, the birdcall is first stated in D minor in the piano and then repeated in the voice, where Kjerulf gives the singer permission to shape the alluring strains *ad lib*. Consequently, the accompaniment is marked *colla voce*.

⁴⁵Grinde 1989: 184.

Lokkende Toner

Andantino *mp*

Der fløi en Fugl o-ver Gra-ne-hei, som
Ein Vo-gel flog ü-bern Tan-nen-wald, er

p *pp*

7
syn-ger de kjend-te San-ge; den lok-ked mig ud fra sla-gen Vei, og
sin-get von al-ten Zei-ten, vom Pfa-de hin-weg er mich lock-te bald, wo

11 *p*
ind paa de skyg-ge-de Gaa-ge, Jeg kom til skjul-te Kil-der og Kjern hvor
dū-ste-re Schat-ten schreiten. Ich kam zum ein-sa-men Quell im Moor, wo

cresc.

15 (Vers 1: sotto voce V. 2 3: *cresc.*)
El-ge-ne Tør-sten sluk-ke; men Fug-le-rø-sten lød end-nu fjern, som
Hir-sche den Durst sich stil-len, mir klang der Vö-gel Ge-sang in's Ohr wie

col canto

Example 15. Lokkende Toner [Alluring Strains]. Page 1.

19 *rit.* *rit. ad lib.*

Nyn mellem Vin - dens Suk - ke: Tir-ri- li To - ve!
 Seuf-zer der Brust ent - quil - len. Ti-ri- li Hal - de!

pp poco riten. *pp colla voce p*

23 *poco lento*

Tir - ri-ri- li To - ve, langt, langt bort i Sko - ve!
 Ti - ri-ri- li Hal - de weit, weit fort im Wal - de!

sempre colla voce *ten.*

Lokkende Toner [Alluring Strains]. Page 2.

The bird call is then repeated in D major and echoed and embellished by the voice, which ends the refrain *poco lento*, dying away “far, far away in the woods.” Cleverly, Kjerulf makes the alluring strains disappear into the distance by repeating the voice’s concluding pitches B and A, first in the tenor in measure 25, then in the voice in the middle register in measure 26, and ultimately in the high register in the accompaniment in the concluding measure.

When he published the poem in the winter of 1859, Welhaven changed the text of *Lokkende Toner* slightly from the version he gave to Kjerulf, replacing “well-known songs” by “forgotten songs” and “the bird’s voice” with “the bird’s song” in the first stanza. An anonymous critic – Kjerulf suspected Monrad, a philosophy colleague of Welhaven – included the “correct” version of the poem in his review of Kjerulf’s new songs, which made Kjerulf comment in his diary that not only one, but two, philosophy professors had been involved

in the article. In the review, the critic characterized the music, according to Kjerulf, in a manner that would have caused Plato to exclude it from his state, as “it would induce weak nerves and disintegration rather than invigoration.”⁴⁶ Kjerulf further ridiculed the critic by saying that the review was written in *feuilleton* style.

The Welhaven songs *Lokkende toner* and *Min Elskte, jeg er bunden*, were published in *Six songs for one voice with piano accompaniment* [Sex sånger för en röst med accompagnement af piano] by Hirsch in 1856, and received with enthusiasm by Swedish audiences and newspaper critics. Norman, writing in the Stockholm *Aftonbladet*, characterized the songs as the most important among Kjerulf’s oeuvre, drawing attention to their lyricism and liveliness, noble and captivating melodies paired with an harmonic treatment of always beautiful and often fine and particular features. He continued, “*Lokkende Toner*, written as a folk ballad in keeping with the character of the text, makes a strikingly beautiful impression.” To Kjerulf’s delight, the review was reprinted in the Norwegian *Christianiaposten*.⁴⁷ Kjerulf also received “extremely nice” reviews in *Svenska Tidningen*.⁴⁸

⁴⁶“saa hører den dog til det Slags som Platon nok vilde udelukke af sin Stat fordi den snarere virker nerveslappende og opløsende end styrkende” (Kjerulf’s unpublished diaries, 11 Jan. 1857).

⁴⁷“Der ligger en Poesi og en Friskhed i dem som uvilkaarlig maa anslaa den aabne Musiksands; en Charakteristik som er baade sand og usædvanlig, noble og indtagende Melodier, samt en harmonisk Behandling af altid vakre og ofte fine og ejendommelige Træk. . . . *Lokkende Toner* er holdt i Folkevisetonen hvortil Texten ogsaa giver Anledning og gjør en høist ejendommeligt smukt Indtryk” (Kjerulf’s unpublished diaries, 31 Dec. 1856).

⁴⁸Ibid.

16. Hvile i Skoven [Rest in the Woods] HK 110

In 1879, eleven years after Kjerulf's death, Grieg reviewed in the *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* a recently published collection of nearly one hundred songs by "the, in Scandinavia, much beloved Norwegian composer," pointing out that only a few of Kjerulf's songs were hitherto known in Germany. "Unfortunately! because they possess genuine and deep sentiment, rare freshness and simplicity, in part originality of expression, qualities that, as everyone knows, do not grow on trees these days."⁴⁹ As among the most beautiful, Grieg mentions the folk-like songs of Opus 6, which includes the Welhaven songs *The Mountain Wanderer Sings* and *Rest in the Woods*, describing the latter as "one of his genius's most wonderful inspirations" [eine der wunderbarsten Eingebungen seines Genius].⁵⁰

According to Kjerulf's diary, he composed *Hvile i Skoven* from Welhaven's *Newer Poems*, on 13 January 1856. The immediate impression, that the romance belongs to the composer's Norwegian style ballads, is due to the many features that he borrows from Norwegian folk music, e.g., the strophic setting, open fifths, dissonances, pointed rhythmic figures, grace notes, and fermatas. The conclusion is hastened, however, as the arpeggiated legato soprano line in the accompaniment and the tranquil character of the melodic line with its small embellishments makes it difficult to place the song strictly within a particular category (Example 16).

In an article on Kjerulf's choice of poetry, Sandvik writes: "Welhaven's poem 'Rest in the Woods' has first and foremost moved him [Kjerulf] with the words 'a zephyr floats hither and thither.' The flow of the melody and the chords' strangely elemental depth convey an evocative summery sentiment, a portrait of the balmy breeze."⁵¹ The poem reads,

I Graneholtet ved Middagstid,
naar Sommersolen brænder,
svæver en luftning hid og did,
og kjøler din Pande, og er saa blid
som et Vift af vinkende Hænder.

In the pine tree grove around noon
when the summer sun is burning,
a zephyr floats hither and thither,
and cools your forehead and is so soft
as a whiff of waving hands.

⁴⁹ "Leider! denn sie sind von einer wahren, innigen Empfindung, von seltener Frische und Naivität, zum Theil Originalität des Ausdrucks, Eigenschaften, welche heutzutage bekanntlich nicht auf den Bäumen wachsen" (Grieg 1879: 55).

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ "Welhavens digt 'Hvile i skoven' har først og fremst virket paa ham ved ordene 'svæver en luftning hid og did.' Melodiens gang og akkordernes merkelige enkle dybde gir en sommerlig stemning, et billede av den svale viften" (Sandvik 1915: 359).

Hvile i Skoven

Poco Andante

I Gra - ne - hol - tet ved Mid - dags - tid, naar
 Der er, i den fa - gre En - somheds Skjød
 Im Wald, wo so hoch die Tan - nen steh'n, brennt
 Dort ist in derhol - den Ein - sam - keit so

dol. pp P dolce tranquillo

5 Som - mer - so - len bræn - der,
 lin - dren - de Ro at fin - de; den
 Mit - tags heiss die Son - ne da
 lin - dern - de Ruh zu fin - den; wie

poco rit. a tempo

8 svæ - ver en Luft - ning hid og did, og kjø - ler din Pan - de, og
 blom - me - de Grund er fløi - els - blød, og frisk og slum - mer -
 kommt da - her' ein lei - ses Weh'n und kühl't dir die Stir - ne so
 Sam - met so weich ist das grü - ne Moos dich wiegt in Träu - me der

p

Example 16. Hvile i Skoven [Rest in the Woods]. Page 1.

Hvile i Skoven [Rest in the Woods]. Page 2.

Der er, iden fagre Ensomheds Skjød
lindrende Ro at finde;
den blommende Grund er fløielsblød,
og frisk og slummerbringende sød
er Granernes Duft derinde.

There is, in this fair secluded womb
a lingering peace to be found;
the flowery ground is velvety soft,
and fresh and sleep-inducing sweet
is the scent of the pine trees there.

The poem's quiet mood is immediately reflected in the tempo marking, *poco andante*, and dynamics, *dolce* and *pianissimo*. The voice, which carries the melody in alternating eighth- and sixteenth-notes, blends with the continuous *dolce tranquillo* legato accompaniment in the piano's right hand and the open fifth pedal in the bass.

As was his wont, Kjerulf begins the romance with a short prelude which he later repeats at the end of each verse. The ending of the prelude on the dominant and its slowing down by two fermatas makes it an effective vehicle for connecting the stanzas. After the first two lines of text, set as an antecedent phrase ending on the dominant, Kjerulf inserts a small interlude – in part a repetition of the last three pitches in the voice line – as a prolongation of the short stanza, as well as a preparation for the next two lines of text. The sensitive accentuation on the highest note in the piano – G[#] – contributes a hint of mysterious color. The fourth text line (ms. 10-11), which moves from the opening key of E major to B major, is set as a varied repetition of the third text line (ms. 8-9). These measures contain a number of striking dissonances, e.g., a major seventh paired with a perfect fourth in measure eight, and a major ninth paired with a minor seventh in measure nine. The play here is between A[#] and A^b over the sustained pedal point of B, whereas the words allude to the soft effect at the floating zephyr.

An almost standard procedure by now is Kjerulf's repetition of the last line of text, which he pairs with a reiteration of the last melodic phrase; furthermore, the postlude is a varied repetition of the opening two measures in the voice-line. In the postlude, moreover, Kjerulf combines a version of the opening piano phase in flowing sixteenth – now heard an octave lower – with an allusion to the three-note motives prominent in the voice. The pedal point now sound in the middle voice, and the dynamic level is *pianissimo*. Nevertheless, Kjerulf prescribes *diminuendo* to an even softer level of sonority in the penultimate measure, and the setting concludes with a *fermata* chord on the tonic, balancing and resolving these quiet sustained chords on the dominant in higher registers that had been heard in the prelude and again at the end of each stanza. *In the Woods* closes with a gentle allusion to the flow of the soft breeze in E major, a key often associated with a spiritualized character.

Kjerulf set only the first, second, and last of the poem's nine stanzas, an odd circumstance since the first and last stanzas are almost identical. This choice was criticized by Ludwig

Norman, who reviewed Kjerulf's Opus 5, which also includes *Hvile i Skoven*. Kjerulf, however, was not bothered by the critique. In a letter to Nicolaysen in Stockholm he writes that, although his "dear Ludovicus" had slaughtered six of the eight songs, "his criticism of the text repetition does not hit me. Rather, I belong to the ones who are too scrupulous. Only when *the best* do it, I do it as well."⁵² He further exclaims, "That the melody to Winther's *In the Woods* is a mannered folk ballad (or maybe it is Welhaven's?) is possible, that is, that my attempt to *imitate* the folk ballad is too *pronounced*. As for Welhaven, W. himself is tremendously fond of it [the song] and cannot, when Marie M[anthey] sings it, find that the melody does not flow."⁵³ The explanation of this confusing statement is that Opus 5 contains two romances with almost identical names, Chr. Winther's *I Skoven* [In the Woods] and Welhaven's *Hvile i Skoven* [Rest in the Woods]. The former fits Norman's general characteristics, the second much less so. In his letter to Nicolaysen, Kjerulf, who does not seem to know – or care about – which one of the two songs Norman is criticizing, first refers to Winther's song and then to Welhaven's.

To Kjerulf's delight he received rave reviews in the Copenhagen *Musikalske Tidsskrift* [Musical Review] for his Opus 5, where "i-k" (Erik Sibioni?? as Kjerulf questioned), wrote: "We regard these songs not only as the best the already, through several works, positively known Norwegian Halfdan Kjerulf so far has composed, but must altogether regard them as belonging to some of the most beautiful the rich song literature of the Scandinavian countries has produced."⁵⁴

Kjerulf's setting of Winther's poem [*I Skoven*] never rose to fame. *Hvile i Skoven*, on the other hand, belongs to Kjerulf most esteemed romances, and his diaries and letters contain numerous references to the song's high acclaim with singers and audiences.⁵⁵ Helene Berg often performed the romance at soirées in Sweden, as well as during her visit to Norway; she also included the song in her before mentioned concert in Christiania. Furthermore, Marie Manthey sang *Rest in the Woods* at a royal soirée, where the new King, Charles XV,⁵⁶ also performed Kjerulf's songs.⁵⁷

⁵² "... hans Dadel over gjentagelse af Texten rammer mig ikke. Jeg er i den Henseende snarere blandt dem, der er for skrupuløse. Overhovedet naar de *Bedste* gjør det, gjør jeg det med" (Moe 1918: 210-11).

⁵³ "At Melodien til Winthers *I Skoven* er affekteret Folketone (eller kanske er det Welhavens?) er muligt, d.v.s. at Bestræbelsen at *efterligne* Folkevisetonen er for *tydelig*. Hvad Welhaven angaar, da er W. selv uhyre glad i den og kan ikke, når han hører Marie M.[Manthey] synge den, finde, at dens Melodi ikke er flydende" (Moe 1918: 211).

⁵⁴ "Vi anse disse Sange ikke alene for det Bedste den allerede ved flere compositioner fordelagtigt bekendte Normand Halfdan Kjerulf hidtil har komponeret, men maa overhovedet henregne dem til noget af det Smukkeste de skandinaviske Landes rige Sang-Literatur har frembragt" (Kjerulf's unpublished diaries, 8 April 1859).

⁵⁵ Kjerulf also set *Hvile i Skoven* for male choir.

⁵⁶ King Oscar I had died in July and was succeeded by his brother.

⁵⁷ Before the event, Kjerulf was asked to rehearse with the King and Miss Manthey at the Royal Castle,

17. Alfeland [Land of Elves] HK 113

Until the 1830s in Norway, when Asbjørnsen and Moe began collecting folk tales and Ludvig Lindeman folk melodies, folk music and poetry were sharply divided from art music and poetry (the latter existing only in hymnody). The romantic movement, however, inspired poets and composers to draw upon nationalistic sources, and from the mid 1840s onward, Norwegian nature, folklore, sagas, and songs were described copiously in music, literature, and painting, Kjerulf, Welhaven, and Gude being among the very first to do so.

One subject frequently drawn upon was *elves* – supernatural spirits found in Norse mythology, old Norwegian ballads, fairy tales, and legends – and their abode *Alfeland*, *Land of Elves*, a utopian island of happiness far out at sea. Welhaven's fascination with elves is evident in a number of his poems, e.g., *From "Elves' Whisper," The Mountain Wanderer Sings*, and *The Water Sprite*. In addition to his reading of Norse mythology, he was influenced by his cousin Heiberg's play *The Elves*, and, significantly, his upbringing in Bergen, a seaport with an open view to the west, with numerous big and small islands littering the horizon. On a clear summer evening, when the sun sets like a glowing ball into the ocean, Welhaven must have envisioned Alfeland in the far remote, visible from the seashore, but impossible to enter.

Commenting on *Alfeland*, Hauge writes:

A person may feel the need to daydream. We see this in 'Land of Elves,' the most pronounced elaboration of the Eden motive [lykkeland-motivet] in Welhaven's poetry. The poem is closely related to 'By the Sea' in 'Newer Poems.' The motive is once again the alluring haven, the island swimming on waves far out at sea. It is the same symbol Jørgen Moe used in his realistic child narrative, 'In the Well and in the Tarn.' The floating island is the fairy-tale like, playful childhood that sometime will have to disappear; the island attaches itself to the shore. Welhaven's floating island has acquired the same characteristics as the traditional descriptions of the lost Eden: verdant meadows, golden sea, reflection and smell of young roses... The Land of Elves is left open to longing and dream.⁵⁸

a rehearsal Kjerulf describes as: "H[is] M[ajesty] was in a splendid mood, singing, drinking port, and was 'charmant.' And poor Marie was charmed. That was totally clear. And the singing went as one might have expected." ["H.M. var i straalende Lune, sang og drak Portvin og var 'charmant.' Og Marie stakkel var charmeret. Det var tydelig nok. Og Sangen gik som den kunde gaa"] (Kjerulf's unpublished diaries, 25 Nov. 1859).

⁵⁸ "Et menneske kan føle trang til å drømme seg bort fra hverdagen. Vi ser det i 'Alfeland', den mest kjente utforming av lykkelands-motivet i Welhaven's diktning. Diktet har nær tilknytning til 'Ved Havet' i 'Nyere Digte.' Motivet er atter det lokkende lengselsrike, øen som svømmer på bølger langt ute i havet.

Alfeland

Molto Moderato

ten. *ten.* *m.s.* *m.d.* *m.s.*

5

Til Havs i Vest for Hel - gelands Skjer, der
 Han ser i Syd, i Øst og i Nord, kun
 Im Meer, gen West, da ra - get hinauf ein
 Du siehst im Süd, im Ost und im Nord, nur

9 *simili*

svømmer en Ø paa de skin - nende Vo - ver: Men kom - mer engang en Sei - ler den nær, da
 tru - en - de Fjeld o-ver sort - ladne Van - de. Det strømmende Sund, den bug - te - de Fjord er
 Eiland von Fel - sen, auf leuchtenden Wogen, doch rich - tet ein Schiff dort - hin den Lauf, dann
 drohen - den Fel - sen, an dü - steren Wellen, hier strömt es im Sund, in Brand - un - gen dort, die

Example 17. Alfeland [Land of Elves]. Page 1.

13 rit.

sæn-ke sig Sky-er der o- ver og skjult er da den
 luk-ket af trau-ri-ge Stran- de. Men dybt i Vest hvor
 steht es von Wol-ken um- zo- gen, ver-steckt ist dann der
 Schif-fe am Fel-sen zer-schel-len, doch fern im West, wo die

17

vin-ken-de Strand og In-gen kan Ø-en be-sti-ge
 So-len gaar ned han fin-der med speidende Øi-e
 win-ken-de Strand, kein Fuss darf die In-sel be-rüh-ren,
 Son-ne versinkt, er fin-det mit spähenden Bli-cken,

21

Med Tan-ken kun tør Kyst-bo-en hi-ge mod Vest til det dei-li-ge
 den fa-gre Ø, hvis bøl-gen-de Hø-ie hæ-ve sig mildt fra den
 Ge-dan-ken kön-nen nah dich nur füh-ren gen West, nach dem lieb-li-chen
 das Ei-land schön, der See-le Ent-zücken so freundlich von fern es her-

dol.

Alfeland [Land of Elves]. Page 2.

25 *poco più lento*

Al - fe - land. Til det dei-li-ge Al- fe - land.
 glimrende Bred, ja mildt fra den glimrende Bred.
 El - fenland, nach dem lieblichen Elfen- land.
 ü - ber ihn winkt, ja von fern es herüber ihn winkt.

rit. col canto

in tempo col canto

30

m.s. m.d. m.s.

Alfeland [Land of Elves]. Page 3.

Kjerulf set *Alfeland*, from Welhaven's collection *Halvhundrede Digte* [Half Hundred Poems], to music on 10 February 1856. Written in *ottava rime* with the rhyme scheme *ababcddc*, the poem inspired Kjerulf to write one of his finest romances in the German *Lied* tradition. The grand structure of the romance is $A = abab$, $B = cd$, $A = dc$, the capital letters referring to the contrasting text and accompaniment in these sections, not to the structure of the voice line. The first A section, consisting of arpeggiated chords, portrays an island in the West floating on glowing waves which becomes encapsulated in clouds when approached; the B section describes the impossible task of mounting the now hidden island, which is portrayed in the accompaniment by separate chords moving steadily upwards and then suddenly collapsing back to their starting point; and in the last A section, where the arpeggiated chords return, the protagonist has to acknowledge that only in his thoughts can he ever aspire to reach the wonderful "Land of Elves."

Til Havs i Vest for Helgelands Skjer,
der svømmer en Ø paa de
skinnende Vover;
Men kommer engang en Seiler den nær,
da sænke sig Skyer derover;
Og skult er da den vinkende Strand,
og Ingen kan Øen bestige.
Med tanken kun tør
Kystboen hige
mod Vest til det deilige
Alfeland.

At sea to the west of Helgeland's rocks,
an island is swimming on
shimmering waves;
But if a sailor ever comes too close,
then clouds are descending upon it;
And hidden is the wavering shore,
and no one can enter the island.
Only in his mind can the
coast-dweller aspire
towards west and the wonderful
Land of Elves.

The romance follows one of Kjerulf's standard opening patterns, a short prelude, later used as a bridge between the stanzas and also as a postlude; and a repetition of the last line of text, here the ultimate eight syllables. He further employs a one-measure interlude – a reiteration of the opening measure in the voice – as a bridge between the three sections and the fourth and fifth verse line (ms. 15, 18, and 21) (Example 17).

The arch-shaped prelude consists of one plus one plus two measures of arpeggiated chords of which the A and the B^b in the soprano line are marked with a *sforzando*; the first A foreshadows the opening pitch in the voice. The next two measures make a chromatic ascent to E , the crux of the romance, as if to reach for the impossible, and then the music collapses

Det er det samme symbolet Jørgen Moe har formet og brukt i sin realistiske barnefortelling 'I Brønden og i Kjærnet'. Den flytende ø er den eventyraktige, lekfylte barndom som engang må gå til grunne; øen gror fast til landet. Welhavens flytende ø har fått de drag som hører med til tradisjonelle skildringer av det tapte Eden: vårgrønne enger, gullblank sjø, gjenskinn og duft av unge roser. ... Alfelandet står åpent for lengsel og drøm" (1955: 160).

back on itself, foreshadowing the sad conclusion of the poem, that the “Land of Elves” is out of reach for mortals – further emphasized through Kjerulf’s prolific use of diminished second chords in these four measures and the F pedal. In addition, the vocal range of the song is small, staying mainly stays within one octave – another symbol of the closed island.

Kjerulf’s harmonic progressions are interesting. The romance moves from F major, through G minor (m. 8), back to F major (m. 10), to A minor (m. 12), where it remains throughout the first section (m. 14) until the end of the *B* section (m. 20). The *B* section begins with a pedal on the fifth – another of Kjerulf’s longtime favorites – which dominates the contrasting part of the romance. The pedal ends abruptly with a swift move to C, the dominant in F major. The one-measure interlude returns in F major, as does the arpeggiated chord pattern (m. 22). At the end of the romance (m. 27), the voice begins a small duet with the piano, after which the voice concludes on the first scale degree and the piano on the third, a move that brings the accompaniment back to the opening prelude in measure one. Not until the end of third stanza does the accompaniment come to a conclusion on the first scale degree, a postponement and romantic trait that Kjerulf loves.

Kjerulf set music to three of the five stanzas of Welhaven’s poem, the first, second, and fourth. Unfortunately, the lyrics of the last two do not fit the music perfectly, e.g., measures 25, 26, and 27. Kjerulf should better have chosen the first and the fifth stanzas, which fit the vocal line perfectly, and also bring the poem to its real conclusion:

Ak, hvo der var saa tryg og saa fri
som Fuglen, der vugges og blunder
paa Bølge,
og kunde mot Vest,
fra Længselens Sti
henbæres i Drømmenes Følge,
og vaagne ved den vinkende Strand
og lande blandt skinnende Vover,
før Skyen slaaer sin Vinge
derover
og dækker det deilige Alfeland!

Alas, were one just so easy and free
as the bird, who is lulled and dulled
by the waves
and could, towards west, from
the yearning path,
be carried away by dreams,
and wake up near the enticing shore
and arrive among glittering waves,
before the cloud rushes in and spreads
its wing
and covers the wonderful Land of Elves!

Alfeland is reminiscent of *Vidste du Vei* [If you but knew the Way] and *Du kommer* [You come], two of Kjerulf’s most lyrical romances written in the style of the German *Lied*. Both romances are through-composed, have the same flowing style and piano parts that complements the voice beautifully. The first is set to text by his brother Theodor, the second by Carl Ploug.⁵⁹

⁵⁹Carl Ploug (1813-94), Danish poet, editor, and politician.

18. Sangens Væld [The Poetic Well] HK 142

The next time Kjerulf returned to Welhaven was July 1858. In the meantime he was busily composing songs with texts extracted from the *Spanisches Liederbuch*, which was later published by Paul Heyse and Emanuel Geibel, as well as songs to texts by Victor Hugo,⁶⁰ of which *Quand tu dors* is the most widely known and sung. He also composed music for two poems by the Swedish-Norwegian King Charles XV upon the King's request.

Both Kjerulf and Welhaven loved song. But unlike the composer, to whom song was music, poetry was song to the poet. This dichotomy stems from Danish, where *sang* denotes both song and poetry and *sanger* both singer and poet, and is as well as the plural of *sang*. (Archaically, “song” was used the same way in English.) Welhaven applied the word *sanger* to himself and his poems.⁶¹ In addition, he described himself as having a *Sangernatur*, a poetic nature, a word also found in old German sources.⁶² Welhaven's title *Sangens Væld* refers to a poetic well that, wherever the poet went and whatever he did, let poetry silently rise from the bottom of his heart, helping him to escape the sultry, tumultuous day around him and give life to his lonely dream.⁶³

Den bedste Skjenk, mig Himlen gav
i Livets Foraarsstund
er sangens Væld der stiger af
mit Hjertes dype Grund.
Dets Toner følge sagte med
saa langt jeg færdes kan;
i Alt hvad Tanken hæves ved,
er Sangen slaaet an.

The best gift that Heaven gave
me in the spring of my life
is the poetic well that rises
from the bottom of my heart.
Its sounds slowly follow me
as far as I can go;
all that elevates my mind
is lit up by poetry.

The Song's Well, published in *Half Hundred Poems*, is an homage to heaven for providing the poet with the gift to write poetry. In using the word *song* instead of *poetry* the text bespeaks both poet and composer, which is probably why Kjerulf chose to set the lyrics to music in the first place. However, as so often before with Welhaven's texts, Kjerulf set it (in

⁶⁰Opus 9. *Sex franska romanser med pianoforte* [Six French romances with pianoforte] (Stockholm: Hirsch, 1861).

⁶¹Seip, private communication.

⁶²E.g., Hugo Hurter, *Nomenclatur Literarius Theologiae Catholicae* (Oeniponte: Libraria Academia Wagnariana, 1906) 214, footnote 1.

⁶³Welhaven's most pronounced applications of the words “sanger” and “sang” are found in the poem *En Sangers Bøn* [A Poet's Prayer], published in *En Digtsamling* [A Poetry Collection] (1859), where he, apart from in the title, uses the expressions “mine Sange” [my poems], “min Sangerkrands” [my laurels] and “Sangermæle” [poetic voice]. He further begins the poem by saying that all over the world words and music accompany each other, i.e., are unified, as they indeed are in song and poetry, singer and poet (Seip, private communication).

1858), shelved it, retrieved it, rewrote it the following year, and shelved it again.⁶⁴

In concordance with the lyrics' praise of heaven, Kjerulf decided on an unusual frame; he sets the poem as a solemn chorale in E^b major. Every feature alludes to the hymn, a strophic setting, chordal accompaniment that follows the melodic line, clear structure and phrasing, opening descending bass line, octavic movement, pedal point, IV-vi-ii-V⁷ progressions, suspensions, and clear cadences. In addition, the melodic line is placed in the alto in measure eleven. The key progressions are slightly more sophisticated than was common in the Lutheran chorale, as the melody moves to the relative minor and its parallel major in measures 13 and 14 (Example 18).

Before his usual repetition of the last line of text, Kjerulf proceeds to A^b major in measure 17, where he increases the tension and anticipation before the final cadence by allowing the accompaniment move disjointedly in stately chords. After a downward motion in the voice and conventional ii-I⁶-ii⁶-I^{6/4}-V⁷-I cadence, the chorale concludes with a short postlude and bombastic return to a V⁷/V, followed by a tonic chord in A^b major, which moves – via a passing tone – directly to the final conclusion in E^b major with an added extension, V⁷/IV, I/IV, I/I.

According to Grinde, Kjerulf rewrote *Sangens Væld* in September 1859 during the Bergs' visit to Christiania.⁶⁵ Why he decided to retrieve the song at this point in time is not known.

⁶⁴As mentioned above, Kjerulf never published *Sangens Væld*. It was first published by Grinde in *Halfdan Kjerulf: Collected Romances*, vol. I, in 1977.

⁶⁵1977: 248.

Sangens Væld

Andante sostenuto

1. Den bed - ste Skjenk, mig Him - len gav i Li - vets For - aars -
 2. Blev Sang - en end i Tan - kens Svøb ind - slut - tet i mit
 3. Og sti - ger Sang - ens Væld med Klang og gaar i aa - ben

4
 stund er san - gens Væld der sti - ger af mit
 Bryst og var den som en Kil - des Løb der
 Strøm det sø - ger dog i - gjen sin Gang i

7
 Hjer - tes dy - be Grund. Dets To - ner føl - ge
 rin - der skjult og tyst, den skul - de i sit
 En - som - he - dens Drom, og i - ler fra en

p
dol.

Example 18. Sangens Væld [The Poetic Well]. Page 1.

10 *cresc.*

sag - te med saa langt jeg fær - des kan; i
 stil - le Hjem be - va - re Hjer - tets Vaar saa
 lum - mer Luft og fra en larm - fuld Dag og

13

Alt hvad Tanken hæves ved, er San - gen slaa - et an.
 frisk som Eng - ens Blomster - brem, hvor - un - der Kil - den gaar.
 sti - ger op i Dug og Duft med stil - le Vel - be - hag.

dim.

17

er San - gen slaa - et an.
 hvor - un - der Kil - den gaar.
 med stil - le Vel - be - hag.

19. Taushed og Sang [Silence and Poetry] HK 147

In a letter to Nicolaysen, written just before Christmas 1858, Kjerulf commemorates the past summer, which he describes as “living off the fat of the land.”⁶⁶ “[I] ate and drank when I felt like it, slept *ad libitum* and composed best when other people were sleeping. Mama was away from the house, Theodor and Agnete likewise. And had I been sitting at the piano until dawn, I would go for long, long solitary walks the next day to prevent my corpse from total decay. But such a way of life ought not to be repeated often.”⁶⁷

The fall had been particularly stressful for the composer, with an endless stream of piano lessons and concert rehearsals and very little time for his own work. The subscription concerts barely succeeded economically, and there were no professionals even among the soloists. “Viel Geschrei und wenig Wonne,” as Kjerulf describes it in his letter, paraphrasing the hopeless main character *Vielgeschrei* in Ludvig Holberg’s comedy *Den Stundesløse* [The Fidget] from 1723.⁶⁸ Ole Bull had his farewell concert, which went so badly that Bull, in the days following the concert, walked around “like an ill and torn man, mad at most people, but particularly mad at those who held their tongue,” of whom Kjerulf was one.⁶⁹ Not even Kjerulf’s own quartet could please him this fall. “There is ‘something rotten’ in the quartet – I wish that it was up to me to rescue it,” he exclaimed. He also mentioned that Welhaven had returned from Rome filled with discontent about the city and its inhabitants. “I read some of his letters – they were splendid, I wish people could see them. If he publishes something, I don’t know. Simply don’t think so. He is long since forgotten [by the general public], ... however, I say what I have said so often: he should not have been forgotten, after all.”⁷⁰

Kjerulf composed one additional Welhaven romance in 1858, *Taushed og Sang* [Silence and Poetry], yet another poem from *Halvhundrede Digte*. The poem was inspired by Welhaven’s reminiscence of how he, as a young boy, had walked alone in the wilderness: “I remember how I reached the solitary fields and walked through them with steadily increasing eagerness,

⁶⁶ “Leve et sandt Slaraffenliv” (Moe 1918: 206).

⁶⁷ “Aad og drak naar jeg vilde uden at bryde mig om Maalene, sov ad libitum og componerte bedst, naar Andre sov. Mama var borte, Theodor og Agnete ligesaa. Og havde jeg saa siddet ved Klaveret til den lyse Morgen, saa gik jeg den næste Dag lange lange ensomme Gange for at bevare mit Kadaver for total Ødelæggelse. Men sligt Leben tør ikke ofte gjentages” (ibid.).

⁶⁸ Ibid. 200.

⁶⁹ “[Ole Bull] gik her om som en syg og sønderrevet Mand – opbragt paa de Fleste, men især paa dem, som taug (ibid. 201).

⁷⁰ “Det er ‘something rotten’ i Kvartetten – gid det stod til mig at frelse den. ... Hans breve saa jeg nogle af – de var prægtige, og gid Folk havde kunnet faa se dem. Om han giver noget ud, ved jeg ikke. Tror det just ikke. Han er jo længst glemt, ... saa siger jeg dog, hvad jeg saa ofte har sagt: han burde ikke været glemt, trods alt” (ibid. 202).

while my soul [indre liv] however, little by little quieted down and silenced.”⁷¹

Gaar jeg gennem Skov og Eng
fulgt af Fuglens Trille,
tier dog hver Harpestring
og min Sjæl er stille.
Livet leger om mit Fjed,
Luft og Skov og Blomsterbed
fængsler mine Sandser.
Midt i al den Herlighed
Sangens Kilde standser.

When I walk through woods and meadows
accompanied by bird song,
my harp strings silence
and my soul is quiet.
Life plays around my footstep
and air, trees, and flowers,
capture my senses.
In the midst of all this splendor
my poetic wellspring ceases.

The opening section consists of two antecedent four-measure phrases, the first in G major, the second in A minor; a consequent four measure phrase in G major proceeds the contrasting middle section and concludes the stanza. The melody and accompaniment, which follows the harmonic rhythm and melody of the voice line, is meant to give the listener a feeling of walking, hence the 2/4 meter and the *andante* tempo marking. The *piano* dynamic level and *tranquillo* setting no doubt allude to the silencing of the protagonist’s “harp strings” and soul, as well as to the solitary wilderness that he walks through (Example 19).

In the contrasting middle section, marked *poco animato*, Kjerulf moves from G major to D major and replaces the steady harmonic rhythm and eighth notes in the opening section with a dotted rhythm and sixteenth and thirty-second notes infused with rests. Sadly, both the semi *parlando* voice line and the animated rhythm sound contrived and out of place, neither fitting what precedes nor succeeds it. The stanza ends with a return to G major (m. 14), the opening harmonic rhythm, and an ascending bass line that moves in step with the voice line (ms. 15-17). In measure 17, the ascending bass-line is replaced by a descending line in the alto moving in sixths with the melody. The verse concludes with a small coda that acts like a bridge between the first and the second stanza (ms. 19-20).

The setting is strophic, which suits Welhaven’s romantic poem well. The only melodic difference between the two stanzas is a slight variation in the concluding measures, including an extended dominant penultimate chord (m. 38) alluding to the summer poem that lingers in the protagonist’s ear:

⁷¹ “Jeg husker hvorledes jeg da kom til de ensomme udmarker og gennemvandrede dem med stedse stigende iver, medens dog mit indre Liv alt mere og mere dyssedes og stilnede” (WSV IV: 224-25).

Taushed og Sang

Andante

Gaar jeg gjen-nem Skov og Eng fulgt af Fug-lens Tril - le, ti - er dog hver
 Wenn durch Au' und dun- keln Hain mei - nen Weg ich wä h - le, fällt mir doch kein

p tranquillo

Poco animato

Har - pe - stræng og min Sjel er stil - le. Li - vet le-ger om mit
 Lied - lein ein, weil so still die See - le. Wald und Flur im Blumen-

10

Fjed, Luft og Skov og Blom-ster-bed,
 kleid, grüsst le - ben - dig weit und breit,

Example 19. Taushed og Sang [Silence and Poetry. Page 1.

13 *rit.* *a tempo*

fængs - ler mi - ne Sand - ser. Midt i al den Her - lig - hed
 kann's ge - nug nicht se - hen, doch, trotz all' der Herr - lich - keit

col canto

17 *Tempo I.*

San - gens Kil - de stand - ser. Fø - rer da den
 will kein Lied ent - ste - hen. Führt mich dann der

22

ly - se Vei hen blandt ø - de Ste - der, hvor til - sidst der
 lich - te Pfad hin zu ø - der Hai - de, wo zu - letzt der

26 *Poco animato*

fin - des ei Glimt af Som - rens Glæ - der, o da tænker jeg vel
 Lenz nicht hat klein - ste Blu - men - freu - de, o dann denk' ich stets zu -

Taushed og Sang [Silence and Poetry]. Page 2.

30 *cresc.*
 paa al den Her - lig - hed jeg
 rück an das einst ge - noss' - ne

32 *rit.*
 saa hist paa Blom - ster - van - gen,
 Glück, dort wo al - les blüh - te,
col canto

35 *a tempo*
 og - i En - som - -he - dens Vraa klin - ger Som - mer - -san -
 und ein Lied, so hold, so hold, quillt mir im Ge - mü -
dim.

39 *a tempo*
 -gen.
 -the.
pp

Taushed og Sang [Silence and Poetry]. Page 3.

Fører da den lyse Vej
hen blandt øde steder,
hvor til sidst der findes ej
Glimt af Somrens Glæder,
o da tænker jeg vel paa
al den Herlighed, jeg saa
hist paa Sommervangen,
og i Ensomhedens Vraa
klinger Sommersangen.

If the sunlit path leads me
to desolate places,
where finally there is no
glimpse of summerly pleasures,
oh, then I recall
all the beauty I saw
there in the flower-covered meadows,
and in this solitary nook
the summer song resounds.

A four measure postlude, an extension of the prelude, concludes the romance.

As is common to a number of the Kjerulf's songs, *Taushed og Sang* includes a pedal point, e.g., the tenor in the opening three measures and nearly static tenor and alto (on E and A) in measures five and six. In addition, measures one and two, five and six contain dissonances augmented by *sforzandi*, a strange interpolation since they disrupt sentiment of the text. This is also true for the second stanza. Furthermore, the accompaniment is littered with suspensions, which alludes to hymnody.

It is rare that a Kjerulf song is not coherent. Even rarer is a romance where the accompaniment does not fully match the sentiment of the text. In *Taushed og Sang*, the composer, instead of giving the listener a feeling of walking on soft-covered ground and hearing the bird song that rings in the wanderer's ears and blends with the beautiful summer air to constitute Nature's own summer song, Kjerulf's setting sounds more like a lullaby gone astray.

20. Hjemfart [Homeward Journey] HK 152

Throughout his adult life Welhaven missed Bergen, the town of his upbringing, which he had to leave and seldom revisited other than in writing. His longing for its stunning nature, sea, and coast line with scattered islands is well described in *Hjemfart* [Homeward Journey]. The poet, in an armada of sailboats, is eagerly approaching the Norwegian west coast and Bergen, hidden from view by hundreds of large and small islands. “Oh, were all the men as lucky as I, to have the nearing harbor as their home!” he exclaims. Even though a “prosperous wind ... breathes on the silent sea,” he wishes that he were a seagull, being able to travel faster!

Nu lufter atter en gunstig Vind
og aander paa Havets Speil;
ifølge med os staa i Fjorden ind
vel hundrede hvide Seil.
Mod Landet daler en Svanesky
og Maagen flyver om Ø;
der falder et Skjær af Morgenens Gry
paa Vinger og Seil og Sø.
Ja, se nu voxer den svale Vind
og kruser det glatte Speil,
hvor deiligt stævne i Fjorden ind
de hundrede hvide Seil.

A prosperous wind once again airs
and breathes on the silent sea;
in our company steering into the fjord
close to one hundred white sails.
A swan-cloud approaches the land
and the seagull swarms the isle;
the fair light of morning is falling
on wings and sails and sea.
Yes, look now the pale wind is waxing
and filling the slackened sail,
how delightful steering into the fjord
the one hundred white sails.

In his interpretation of the poem, Hauge writes,

In *Homeward Journey* the poet feels enthusiastic longing after his childhood home without a trace of sentimental melancholy. In brash, fast rhythms he describes sailing into the fjord. He does not wish for the wind to wane. ... The poem is about the journey home; all the time his home is the alluring goal. It is a person's wont to be in transit. ... It is new in Welhaven's poetics that the journey itself can be a pleasurable event, like a feast. He does not look back to the home that he left, as in *Reminiscences* and other poems in his collection of 1838. Nor does he look back on the journey, clinging to the home that he has found in his inner self, as in *The Wandering in Newer Poems*. His home lies ahead, his life's journey has aim and purpose.⁷²

⁷² “I ‘Hjemfart’ kan dikteren kjenne lengselen etter barndomshjemmet som en begeistring, uten noe drag av sentimentalt vemod. I flotte, raske rytmer skildrer han seilasen inn fjorden. Her er det ikke noe ønske om at vinden skal stilne. ... Diktet handler om ferden hjem; hele tiden står hjemmet som det lokkende mål.

The poem was written at a time described by the Welhaven biographer Løcken as “Scandinavianism’s first growth period,”⁷³ when Welhaven began to use words from the Norwegian vernacular. Welhaven included the poem in a letter on 1 June 1838 to Frederik Barfod, the publisher of *Brage-Idun*, a Nordic quarterly “written with support from Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians.”⁷⁴ The poem was published in *Brage-Idun* in 1839, well after its initial publication in Welhaven’s first poetry collection, *Poems*, at the end of 1838, where Kjerulf first read it.

According to Kjerulf’s diary entry, *Hjemfart* was set to music on 20 August 1859, during the Bergs’ visit to Christiania. This month is also in the season of sailing on the Oslofjord, so Kjerulf might have been reminded of Welhaven’s poem watching white sails moving perpetually on his daily walks. Despite its distinctive Norwegian tone colors, he set it as a German *Lied* with a voice line which is supported and complemented by the piano throughout (Example 20).

The romance, in A major, is unified by an opening two-measure motive – an outline of the A major triad – followed by a stepwise descent to the dominant in the bass line, which is coupled with a chordal progression centered around the dominant in the descant. The motive is repeated and then elided, comprising the song’s prelude, postlude, and part of the bridge between the two stanzas (ms. 16-19).

Throughout the romance, Kjerulf constantly alludes, as a connecting thread, to the running movement through the poem. In the first two measures, before the voice enters, an undulating motion in the piano sets up the gentle wind which begins to ripple the still sea surface, providing hope to the armada of sail boats which are trying to reach the shore. The increasing wind is portrayed through an arpeggiated, rocking movement in the accompaniment, first by repeating material from the prelude, then by moving in step with the voice line in the soprano paired with octavic leaps in the bass. These features, plus the continuous flow of eighth-notes that run through the song as a *perpetuum mobile*, point to the constant motion of the wind, sea, boats, and sails.

Det er menneskets situasjon å være underveis. . . . Det er noe nytt i Welhavens diktning at selve ferden kan føles som en glede, som en fest. Han fester ikke lenger oppmerksomheten ved det hjem som han forlot, slik som ‘Et Tilbageblik’ og andre dikt i samlingen fra 1838. Heller ikke ser han tilbake på ferden og klynger seg til det hjem han har funnet i sitt indre liv, som i ‘Vandringen’ i ‘Nyere Digte’. Hjemmet ligger foran, livsferden har mål og mening” (1955: 158-159).

⁷³1900: 423.

⁷⁴WSV V: 78.

Hjemfart

Animato

5

f

rin. f.

Nu
Nun

9

luf - ter at - ter en gung - stig Vind og aan - der paa Ha - vets Speil; i
we - het wie - der ein gån - sti - ger Wind, und haucht auf den Spie - gel blau, und

13

Føl - ge med os staa i Fjor - den ind vel hun - dre - de hvi - de
hun - dert Schif - fe, so leicht und ge - schwind, mit Se - geln so weiss, ich

Example 20. Hjemfart [Homeward Journey]. Page 1.

16 *mp*

Seil. Mod
schau! Auf's

20

Lan - det da - ler en Sva - ne - sky og Maa - gen fly - ver om Ø, der
Land sich sen - ket ein Wölk - chen rein, die Mö - ve kreist schreiend um - her; es

p

24

fal - der et Skjær af Mor - ge - nens Gry paa Vin - ger og Seil og Sø. Ja,
fällt von des Mor - gens Grau - en ein Schein auf Flü - gel, auf Se - gel und Meer. Ja,

28

se nu vo - xer den sva - le Vind og kru - ser - det glat - te Speil, ja
seht die Wo - ge, schon bäumt sie sich dort, zum Brausen der Wind wird schnell, ja,

p

32

se nu vo - xer den sva - le Vind og kru - ser det glat - te
seht die Wo - ge, schon bäumt sie sich dort, zum Brau - sen der Wind wird

cresc.

35

Speil;
schnell,

mf *f*

38

f

hvor dei - ligt stæv - ne i Fjor - den ind de
wie herr - lich: zu steu - ern zum hei - mi - schen Port, mit

f

41

hun - dre - de hvi - de Seil, hvor dei - ligt stæv - ne i
ei - len - den Seg - lern hell, wie herr - lich zu steu - ern zum

44
Fjor - den ind de hun - dre - de hvi - de Seil!
hei - mi - schen Port mit ei - len - den Seg - lern hell!

47

51

Hjemfart [Homeward Journey]. Page 4.

Hjemfart has a strophic setting; however, Kjerulf has given each twelve-line stanza the form *ABA*. The first two lines of text are set as an antecedent phrase ending on the dominant, the next two as a consequent phrase ending on the tonic (ms. 9-16). Before the beginning of the fifth line of text and the *B* section, the prelude returns in elision, after which Kjerulf abruptly moves to C^\sharp minor, the relative minor of *E* major – a clever move, since the dominant has been lingering in the listener’s ear throughout the first part of the romance.

The next four lines of text correspond to the more lyrical part of the first stanza, the description of a flock of swans approaching land during daybreak while the seagulls are circling the islets. Here, the continuous downward motion in the opening voice line is replaced by an arch-shaped melodic line, and the previous harmonic progressions, which were dominated by *I*-chords and *V*-chords, are now replaced by a pedal point on C^\sharp , with supporting *i*-chords, *iv*-chords, *VI*-chords, and *V*⁷-chords in the right hand.

The flow of the melody is still predominantly stepwise. The middle section ends in *E*

major (m. 27), but does not rest there; instead it wanders – with E as an anchor – via a V^7 -chord in A major, a tonic chord in A minor, and a diminished seventh-chord, to the dominant in A major and a repetition of the *A* section. Here the text, a varied repetition of the first four lines of the poem, calls for increased intensity and dynamics as the wind fills the hundred white sails which are approaching the shore. Both voice and accompaniment start on high E (m. 31), but while the melodic line makes a chromatic descent to middle E, the accompaniment, with a slowly increasing *crescendo*, makes a chromatic ascent to C[♯] (m. 34), the crux of the song. The voice line never moves beyond high E, giving the piano the more dramatic role in this romance.

In the subsequent interlude Kjerulf retains the E, now blended with B, underlining the harmonic progressions V^7 , ii^7 , IV^9 , iii , and V^7 in A major. He then returns to the opening section for the last line of text, which, in a circular fashion, brings the song to a jubilant conclusion in *forte*, not on the tonic, but on the dominant, E.

Reminiscent of *A Summer Song* and *My beloved, I am spellbound* where Kjerulf plays with key ambiguity, he plays with tonality in *Hjemfart*, setting the song in A major, but rather than focusing on the tonic and its relative minor, he centers around the dominant and its relative minor, a clever, romantic trick.

The romance was published posthumously by Hirsch in *Sånger och Visor, Bind III* [Songs and Ballads, Volume III]. Strangely, *Hjemfart* is among Kjerulf's rarely performed songs, having failed either to attract singers, to captivate audiences or both.

21. Ved Sundet [By the Strait] HK 165

In his Kjerulf obituary, Grieg lists *Ved Sundet* as one of Kjerulf's most beautiful romances. Kjerulf's setting of Welhaven's poem perfectly captures the enchanting atmosphere that the silver-glimmering sea, moonshine, and the protagonist's lonely hut induces in the listener. The first stanza of the text reads:

Der hviled over Øen saa skjært et Maaneskin; i Bugten rulled Søen sin Sølvervove ind. Ved Sundet stod min ensomme Hytte, og der er Nøkken's Krat, der var det min Hu at vaage og lytte den ganske Sommernat.	The island rested in fragile moonshine; silver glimmering waves rolled towards the bay. By the strait was my lonely hut where the elves were playing; There, I wanted to wake and listen the entire summer night.
---	--

Although the text touches upon Norwegian Romanticism and folklore through its mention of the elf king *Nøkken*, Kjerulf chose the German *Lied*, a prevalent vehicle for expressing mysticism and the supernatural in German romantic literature and poetry. The strophic setting works well since the poem's sentiment does not change over the three stanzas. In the second verse the rolling waves are replaced by a gentle breeze, while the third stanza alludes to both wind, moving clouds, and sails, thus retaining the song's dynamical framework.

The romance, in 2/4 time and *allegretto moderato*, opens in A major and makes a Schubertian modulation to the parallel key of A minor in the second half of the song. Kjerulf induces a quiet mood with a light, unassuming prelude that oscillates between the tonic and the dominant emulating the nix's harp, by marking the score *dolce e tranquillo*, and never increasing the dynamical range beyond *piano*. The accompaniment, portraying the moonlit waves rolling in the bay, moves continuously beneath the voice line throughout the romance, occasionally following the voice line, e.g., ms. 8-10, at times moving freely in arpeggiated chords, e.g., ms. 11-14 and ms. 23-29. See Example 21.

As in earlier songs, the prelude acts like a unifying device, beginning in A major, returning in E major in an elided version as an introduction to the last section, and then reappearing in A major as a postlude. Throughout the romance the accompaniment plays a supporting, however, complementary, role to the voice line. When the voice enters in measure eight, the accompaniment, marked *dolce*, is hushed. Again, the bass line plays the more dominant role, moving downward in contrary motion to the descant, which copies the melodic line. The descent is followed by an ascending arpeggiated ii chord which resolves to a third inversion

Ved Sundet

Allegro moderato

dolce e tranquillo

8

Der hvi-led o-ver Ø-en saa skjert et Maa-ne-skin; i
 Det duf-ted og det dug-ged, det aan-det o-ver Sund, og
 Es ruh-te auf dem Ei-land der hel-le Mon-den-schein, es
 Es wiegten Thau und Duf-te sich ü-berm Sund im Wind, es

dolce
p

13

Bug-ten rul-led Sø-en sin Sol-ver-vo-ve ind.
 Nat-te-vin-den vug-ged hver Blom-ster-alf i Blund.
 roll-ten Sil-ber-wo-gen sich in die Bucht hin-ein.
 wiegten wei-che Lüf-te jed' träumend Blu-men-kind.

p dolce

18

Ved Sun-det stod min
 Det var som en Vin-ge af
 Am Sun-de stand mei-ne
 Es war als rühr-ten mich

triten.

Example 21. Ved Sundet [By the Strait]. Page 1.

24
 en - somme Hyt - te, og der er Nøk - kens Krat. Der
 Dun mig rør - te og holdt mit Ø - ie til, mens
 ein - same Hüt - te, dort ist der Ni - xen Hain, dort
 flaum - weiche Schwingen und hiel - ten das Aug' mir zu, da

30
 var det min Hlu at vaa - ge og lyt - te den gan - ske Som - mer-
 al den dæm - pe - de Klang, jeg hör - te, lød sødt som Har - pe -
 wollt' ich wa - chen, träu - men und lauschen die gan - ze Nacht al -
 schlich ein won - ni - ges Spie - len und Sin - gen sich leis' in mei - ne

35
 nat, den gan - ske Som - mer- nat.
 lød sødt som Har - pe - spil.
 lein, die gan - ze Nacht al - lein.
 Ruh, sich leis' in mei - ne Ruh

39

Ved Sundet [By the Strait]. Page 2.

tonic chord in measure 11. The arpeggiated chord progressions continue as the bass line starts a new stepwise descent to a D[#], culminating on the tonic in E major in measure 16, and then moving straight into the interlude, which marks the division between the first and

second half of the romance.

Following the interlude, the arpeggiated chords, now paired with an ascending chromatic bass line, continue in measure 23, which coincides with a shift to A minor, a key change that sets the stage for the more mysterious part of the romance, the mentioning of the protagonist's lonely hut and the water elf. Contrary to Schubert, Kjerulf uses minor, not major, to denote the hidden and supernatural. The key change is succeeded by a chromatic descent in the bass in measures 29-30 and a move back to the parallel major in response to the poet declaring that he intends to "wake and listen the entire summer night" for the soft sound of *Nøkken's* harp. A characteristic Kjerulf move occurs in measure 35 – the introduction to the repetition of the last phrase – where the melodic line begins in the accompaniment and is subsequently taken over by the voice, carrying it to the conclusion of the stanza.

Ved Sundet was also set to music by one of Kjerulf's most talented students, the pianist and composer Agathe Backer Grøndahl (1847-1907) (discussed more fully in the postlude). Her version of *Ved Sundet* (Opus 16, No. 2) is one of her most frequently performed songs.

22. En Sommersang [A Summer Song] HK 200

Welhaven's poem *A Summer Song*, written to Ida Kjerulf when she was still alive yet unattainable, "exuberates sorrow and longing."⁷⁵ Welhaven did not publish the poem until 1867, in his collected works, feeling that it was too personal and *her's*.⁷⁶ Kjerulf, however, first set *En Sommersang* in 1862; hence Welhaven must have given him or Ida the text earlier.

Sandvik writes of the song: "One of his [Kjerulf's] most dramatic works is 'Beautiful valley, bright summer' [the more commonly used name of the song] where he mixes free recitative and regular melody. Welhaven's lyrics, in form symmetrical, however lively moving, are delicately adopted by Kjerulf, who lets the dramatic recitative break into melody each time the thought of the missed 'heart's enchantress' casts her melancholy shadow over the radiant summer, making the poem doubly enchanting."⁷⁷

Kjerulf chose a through-composed setting for Welhaven's bitter-sweet three stanza poem, setting the first stanza as recitative, the second as song, and the third as a mixture of recitative and song. Befitting the poem's sentiment, the score is marked *un poco lento*, and the introduction *piano* and *dolce*. Despite the A^b key signature, the romance begins with a sweeping *legato* arpeggiated I⁹ chord in E^b major spanning four octaves which is tailed by two melancholy bird twits on F and E^b. The bird twits are answered by a F^b and E^b in the bass, the F^b forming a tritone with the B^b in the tenor. Both the high F and the tritone are marked *sforzando*, foreshadowing that this summer song is not a happy one. Following an elongated rest, the voice enters unaccompanied with an exclamation that has become the more commonly used name for the song: "Beautiful valley, bright summer!" (Example 22).

⁷⁵Løchen 1900: 369.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷"Et av hans mest dramatiske arbeider er 'Fagre dal, lyse sommer' hvor han gir en blanding av frit recitativ og jevn melodi. Welhavens i formen symmetriske, men livfuldt bevægelige vers oppfatter Kjerulf meget fint idet han lar det dramatiske recitativ naturlig brytes av melodi hvergang tanken paa den savnede 'hertets tryllerinde' lægger sin vemodige skygge over sommerglansen, og han gjør diktet dobbelt eiendommenlig" (Sandvik 1915: 360).

En Sommersang

Un poco lento **rit.** **Recit.**

Fag-re Dal, ly-se
Hol-des Thal, reich ge-

moderato

5 Sommer! Her er Marken fuld af Blommer, Fjorden bringer Kjølning
schmücket! Wo man süs-se Blu-men pflücket, wo die Kühlung weht das

9 her; Liv og Duft til Lun-den vin-ke, i hvis grønne Hvæl-ving blin-ke
Meer. Duf-te nach dem Hain mich zogen, durch der grünen Wöl-bung Bo-gen

Example 22. En Sommersang [A Summer Song]. Page 1.

14 *f* dim. e rit.

Straa- leglimt som Stjer- ners Hær.
strahlt es wie ein Ster- nen- heer!

f *riten. col canto* *poco lento dol.*

17 **Andante**

Fandt jeg dig skjult her - in - de, du mit Hjer - tes
Fänd' ich dich, tief im Grü - nen, dir, als Für - stin,

p legato

20

Tryl - le - rin - de, da blev Da - gen dob - belt smuk;
wollt' ich die - nen, und der Tag wird dop - pelt hell;

23

og da vil - de Bir - kens Gre - ne ei som nu, mens
nim - mer in dem Bir - ken - hai - ne würd' ich, wo ich

26

jeg er e - ne, mens jeg er e - ne,
bin, al - lei - ne, wo ich al - lei - ne

29

hvis - ke i mit Ly med Suk.
seuf - zen an des Ba - ches Quell.

33 *mf* *Recit.*

Blomsterduft, li - flig Sommer, Vift, som mildt fra Bølgen kommer, gy - de Længsel i min
 Blumenduft, Sommerfrische, Hauch vom Meer streicht durch die Büsche, ihr weckt Sehnsucht ach, nach

38 *mf* *lento* *dim.* in

Hu.
ihr.

42 *tempo poco agitato*

Ak, thi af et dun - kelt Fjer - ne
 Ach, wie in ver-borg - ner Fer - ne

45

er du skjult, min Sol og
 strah - lest du mein Stern der

En Sommersang [A Summer Song]. Page 4.

48

Stjer - ne, min Sol og Stjer - ne;
 Ster - ne, mein Stern der Ster - ne;

dim.

Red.

52 **Tempo I.**

i min Drøm, i min Drøm, i min Drøm kun
 denn mein Traum, denn mein Traum, denn mein Traum weiss

p dol. *pp* *p*

55 **rit.**

skin - ner du.
 nur von dir!

Red.

En Sommersang [A Summer Song]. Page 5.

Fagre Dal, lyse Sommer!	Beautiful valley, bright summer!
Her er Marken fuld af Blommer,	Here the meadow is filled with flowers,
Fjorden bringer Kjølning her.	and the fjord brings cooling.
Liv og Duft til Lunden vinke,	Life and fragrance draws me to the grove
i hvis grønne Hvælving blinke	where at the top of the grove's dense green roof
Straaleglimt som Stjerners Hær.	the sun's rays blink like a canopy of stars.

After a second *fermata*, a single first inversion tonic chord of A^b major precedes the subsequent voice entry, which, marked *moderato*, continues the recitative in praise of the flower-covered meadow, a recitative the piano intercepts with a measure of arch-shaped triplets in B^b minor in measure 7. At the conclusion of the next line of text – the cooling brought by the fjord, which is accompanied by two “dry” block chords – a new set of triplets follows, this time in D^b major. The triplets allude to the prelude with its small motive of upward and then stepwise downward motion, a motive which Kjerulf repeats in the interlude (m. 15). In measure 10, where the singer reenters in A^b major portraying how the sun sends rays of light through the dense green leaves in the grove, the accompaniment becomes more active. After two *dolce* chords, the piano begins interacting with the voice, foreshadowing (mm. 7 and 11) and repeating the melody (m. 13). The text is illustrated through a series of arpeggiated chords and an ascending right hand motion in the piano, culminating in a *forte* third inversion I-chord in C major, a key Kjerulf further emphasizes through a strong authentic cadence which ends the stanza (m. 15). The embellishing postlude is a repetition of the arpeggiated opening measure, now in C major, however, provided with a new ending concluding on a dominant chord in A^b major, which, with its upward motion points to where “the sun’s rays blink like a canopy of stars.”

Kjerulf’ uses a very romantic trait in this part of the song, a wandering tonality which gives the song a feeling of uncertainty. Although set in A^b major, the romance begins on the dominant E^b major and wanders from B^b minor, D^b major, and A^b major to C major and back to A^b major. However, during the first 15 measures, i.e., the prelude, first stanza, and the interlude, there is only one root position chord in A^b major, and that chord is weakened by an arpeggiation. Not until the second stanza and the *andante* section, where Kjerulf changes the tempo from double to triple meter, does the romance settle firmly in A^b major, which coincides with the point where Kjerulf, to quote Løchen, “bursts into song.”⁷⁸

⁷⁸Løchen 1900: 369.

Fandt jeg dig skjult herinde,
 du mit Hjertes Tryllerinde,
 da blev Dagen dobbelt smuk.
 Og da vilde Birkens Grene,
 ei, som nu, mens jeg er ene,
 hviske i mit Ly med Suk.

If I only had found you hidden here,
 you, my heart's enchantress,
 this day would have been twice as beautiful.
 And the birch's limbs would not,
 as now, when I am alone,
 be whispering in my shelter to me sighing.

The second stanza of Welhaven's elegiac-erotic poem abounds with features that are typical of Kjerulf's mature style, e.g., the graceful and lyrical voice line beautifully complemented by a flowing accompaniment which is almost an independent song in itself; the opening piano motive, here a descending line that runs from one hand to the other in measures 17-18, 27-28; the voice crossing in measures 23-25; the third relationship between the voice and soprano piano line, plus the echoing of the melody in the tenor line in measures 23-24; and the switch to a minor key, here A^b minor in measure 25, in response to the text, "as now, when I am alone."

The key progressions are conservative; apart from a quick move to the parallel minor, the second stanza stays in the opening key of A^b major and the dominant, E^b major. The open fifths, which act like a pedal point in the opening measures as well as later, and the dissonances they induce allude weakly to Norwegian folk music; however, the *legato* and *piano* character of the song and the mainly filled out chords mellow the reference.

The *andante* section ends on a V⁷ chord marked by a *fermata*, a chord Kjerulf brings to a surprising *mezzo forte* I⁶-chord in C major at the beginning of the third stanza and the next recitative section, where the romance resumes in duple meter. As opposed to the subdued character of the first recitative section, the second begins in *forte* with a cry of frustration:

Blomsterduft, liflig sommer,
 vift, som mildt fra bølgen kommer,
 gyde længsel i min hu.

The scent of flowers, wonderful summer,
 a breath of wind from the sea,
 evokes yearning in me.

The voice is supported by a mixture of diminished, minor, and major chords conveying the protagonist's yearning with all possible might. After the outcry, Kjerulf further emphasizes the poet's desolation by returning to the prelude, the E^b major chord and the bird twits, only this time they echo the protagonist's hope and despair, the canopy of stars above and the earth below, and the unreachable Ida and the poet. Three unison chords on E^b intercepted by rests follows, as if to prolong the protagonist's despair. Then, with a sudden move to A^b major, the song becomes more agitated. The next eight measures, – characterized by restless triplets in the accompaniment – begin with a dialogue between the piano and voice

(m. 42), where the singer, as if confiding in the accompaniment, is grieving that his beloved, his “sun and star,” is hidden in the dark remote and can only shine in his dream:

Ak, thi af et dunkelt fjerne	Alas, since in the dark remote
er du skjult, min sol og stjerne.	you are hidden, my sun and star.
I min drøm kun skinner du.	Solely in my dream are you shining.

Here Kjerulf shows his new mastery of key progressions by means of augmented sixth chords and diminished chords, as he moves from A^b minor (m. 42), through C^b major (ms. 45-46), A^b minor (m. 47), E^b major (m. 48), to A^b major (m. 50). In anticipation of the concluding line of text, he returns to the romance’s opening measure, which he begins in augmentation, interrupts, and lets hang in the air for nearly one measure.

The last line of text is set to a slightly altered version of the first four measures of the *andante* section. Pensive and subdued – “in my dream” is repeated three times, first in *dolce* and *piano*, then in *pianissimo*, and finally in *piano* accompanied by two diminished chords – Kjerulf ends Welhaven’s heartfelt longing for his beloved Ida with a bright arpeggiated outline of A^b major, in response to the poet’s shining dream about her.

Two years after Kjerulf first wrote *En Sommersang* for soprano, he appropriately set it for baritone. The romance became a great success, with Behrens performing it in Christiania in 1866 and Stockholm in 1867. In its review of the Stockholm concert the reviewer in *Aftonbladet* [The Evening News] wrote: “Kjerulf’s delightful ‘Summer Song,’ which with excellent command was sung by Mr. Behrens, made an extraordinarily powerful and pleasant impression”⁷⁹ After the second concert the reviewer wrote: “. . . and Mr. Behrens closed the concert with two songs: Kjerulf’s poetic shimmering ‘Summer Song’ plus Schubert’s world famous ‘Der Wanderer,’ a really good choice, since both these works, each in its way, can be said to belong to the best that has been written of its sort.”⁸⁰ One can only begin to imagine Kjerulf’s delight!

⁷⁹ “Et synnerligt mäktigt och angenämt intryck gjorde Kjerulfs förtjusande ‘Sommersang’, som med förträffelig disposition sjönges af hr. Behrens”

⁸⁰ “. . . och hr. Behrens afslutade konserten med två sånger: Kjerulfs poetisk skimrande ‘Sommersang’ samt Schuberts verldsberömda ‘Der Wanderer’, ett i sanning godt val, enär dessa baade nummer, hvart i sitt slag, väl lärkunna räknas til det bästa som i den vägen är skrifvit” (Grinde 2003: 221).

23. Den friske Sang [The frisky Song] HK 213

Welhaven wrote a number of ballads of which Kjerulf set two for solo voice, *Troubadouren*, one of his first Welhaven settings in 1843, and *Den friske Sang*, one of his last, in 1865. *Den friske Sang* is a six-stanza story of the knight Leander who loved to sing, and more than anything would like to conquer beautiful women with his love songs. One day his eye catches a boat with a golden mast and sails made of silk, with a fiery youngster at the helm. And how he could sing! Leander cries: “Dear friend, please teach me your art’s skills so that I can honorably win the favors of the beautiful ladies.” The young man, however, insists that his skills cannot be learned by anyone who wants to use them to his own advantage; only those who bravely leave the shore with him will understand his art.

The ballad has no introduction, and true to its sentimental and romantic tradition, the setting is simple and strophic, with an accompaniment that follows the melodic line as well as its harmonic rhythm (Example 23). Kjerulf uses simple key progressions, primarily oscillating between B^b major and its dominant, F major, the exception being a quick shift to the second degree, C minor, in measures 13 and 14, and in the postlude in measure 23. In the seven measure long postlude, he breaks with the chordal pattern he has used so far, and instead changes to a flowing style which alludes to the knight’s stringed instrument.

The frisky song about Leander is a rhymed fable with strong moral content. Although the ballad, with its dance-like triple rhythm, captures the main sentiment of the text, it belongs to Kjerulf’s forgotten works. Whether owing to the music, text, or both, the song never captivated the audiences. *Den friske Sang* was published by Hirsch in *Sex Sange af Bj. Bjørnson, Th. Kjerulf, A. Munch og J. S. Welhaven, for en Syngestemme med Piano* [Six Songs by Bj. Bjørnson, Th. Kjerulf, A. Munch og J. S. Welhaven, for one Voice with Piano] in 1866. That the collection received very good reviews was hardly due to the song about Leander.

Den friske Sang

Allegro moderato

Le - an - der var en Rid - der, som lag - de Vind paa
 Han stod en Dag ved Stranden i Jæ - ger - dragt med
 Le - an - der war ein Rit - ter, der lieb - te heiss des
 Er stand ein - mal am Strande, mit Prunk und Putz in

San - gens Kunst, og helst ved El - skovs - kvid - der han
 Prunk og Puds; da skin - ned Him - mel - ran - den ved
 Lie - des Kunst durch Lie - bes - lied zur Zi - ther, buhlt
 Jä - ger - tracht, da kam am Him - mels - ran - de die

søg - te Kvin - de - gunst. Paa Jagt i Mark og
 Mor - gen - so - lens Blus. Dens ly - se Glim - mer
 er um Wei - ber - gunst. Zur Jagd im Wal - des -
 Son - ne her voll Pracht. Ihr Schim - mer glänz - te

Example 23. Den friske Sang [The frisky Song]. Page 1.

10

Lund han drog med Falk og Hund; men
 laa paa Dy - bets Bøl - ger smaa, de
grund, zog er mit Falk und Hund, doch
hell, auf blau - er Tie - fen Well'. Sie

13

og i Hal - len man - gen Gang han gik paa Rov med
 kys - sed Stran - dens Blom - ster-brem, og Ha - vets Aan - de
ging er auch im ho - hen Saal, auf Raub als Sän - ger
küss - ten hold den Blu - men-ring und Mee - res O - dem

16

Sang og Klang, han gik paa Rov med Sang og Klang.
 fulg - te dem, og Ha - vets Aan - de fulg - te dem.
man - ches Mal, auf Raub als Sän - ger man - ches Mal.
drü - ber ging, und Mee - res O - dem drü - ber ging.

Den friske Sang [The frisky Song]. Page 2.



Den friske Sang [The frisky Song]. Page 3.

24. Bergens Stift [Bergen Diocese] HK 216

In 1865, three years before his death, Kjerulf composed his last Welhaven romance, *Bergens Stift*,⁸¹ as a homage to Welhaven, whom he always regarded as Norway's finest poet. Despite the fact that *Bergens Stift* belongs to the composer's most elaborate romances, it is not well known.

The poem itself is a homage to Welhaven's Bergen:

Nu gaar Østenvinden
som et Suk igjennem Linden,
og mod Vesten glider Skyen blidt,
og min Længsel følger
til de fjerne Bølger,
hvor min Barndom gyngede saa tidt.

Mine Barndomsdage
er en billedsmykket Sage,
i hvert Billed er en Tone lagt.
I min Drøm paa Fjeldet,
under Fossevældet,
har en Huldre mig sin Harpe lagt.

Kjender du de svale,
mørke, kirkestille Dale
uden Arner, uden Sti og Navn?
Ved de sorte Elve
Taarebirke skjælve;
de har nævnt mig alle mine Savn.

Har du seet Skoven
hænge frodigt over Voven,
fra det lune, farverige Fjeld?
Der, blandt Blomsterbede,
under Droskens Rede,
sprang min dybe Sjeleglædes Væld.

The Eastern wind moves
like a sigh through the grove,
and the cloud glides blithely toward the West,
and my longing follows
the distant waves,
where my childhood often rocked.

My childhood days
are a picture filled story,
in each picture is a tone embedded.
In my dream in the mountains,
under the waterfall,
a water elf has placed her harp.

Do you know the lingering,
dark, soundless valleys
without shelters, without path or name?
By the black rivers
weeping birches shiver;
they recall all I have lost.

Have you seen the trees
hanging lush above the waves,
from the sheltered, richly colored mountain?
There, among flowerbeds,
under the thrush's nest,
arose my soul's deep poetic well.

⁸¹Published posthumously in 1870 by Hirsch, Opus 23, 5 *Sange med Pianoforteaccompaniment*, Nr. 1.

Ved mit Edens Gjærde
 er en Kæmpevagt paafærde:
 vilde Jøkler splitte Skyen ad;
 men i Styrkens Belte
 om de barske Helte
 har en Dise virket Rosens Blad.

Der er nøgne Strande,
 hvor de klippestore Hvaler lande,
 under Tordners og Orkaners Gny;
 der er dybe Bugter,
 hvor de røde Frugter
 groe ved Bredden av din Snekkes Ly.

Der har Herren stillet
 for din Ringhed Almagts Billed,
 der er Orgelklang fra Fjeld og Fjord;
 der vil Droskens Tone
 kvæge og forsone
 i det klippehvalte Tempelchor.

Der var godt at blunde
 i de lyse, duftopfyldte Lunde,
 hvor min Vugge overskygget stod;
 for hver kvalfuld Slummer,
 for hver vaagen Kummer,
 er min Vuggegave Lægerod.

Hil dig Norges Bringe!
 Under Stormens vinterlige Vinge
 er du hærdet til din Jettedyst;
 men bag Pandsrets Bue
 blusser Fromheds Lue,
 banker Hjertet mod Naturens Lyst.

At the gate of my paradise
 is a giant guard present:
 wild glaciers split the cloud;
 (but) in the bracing belts
 around the strong heros
 a goddess has woven rose pedels.

There are naked beaches,
 where gigantic whales are landing,
 during howling thunder and hurricanes;
 there are deep bays
 where red fruit grows
 in the harbor where your boat is sheltered.

There the Lord has shown
 his omnipotence before your humble self,
 there are organ tones from mountains and fjords;
 there the thrush's song
 will refresh and appease
 in the dome of the cliffs.

It was wonderful to doze
 in the light, fragrant-laden grove,
 where my cradle shaded stood;
 for every anguished slumber,
 for every wakeful grief,
 my poetic gift is my remedy.

Hail to you, Norway's breast!
 Under the wintry wing of the storm
 you were hardened for your giant battle;
 though behind the armored bow
 burns a pious light,
 the heart beats against Nature's wont.

The poem, published in his first collection, "Poems" in 1838, belongs to Welhaven's earliest non-polemic poems. It provides, as Hauge comments, the best example in Welhaven's early poetry of his ability to use nature as an expression of human sentiments.⁸² It also demonstrates the poet's ideal of a balance between introversion and fighting spirit.

Kjerulf set all nine stanzas of Welhaven's poem – of which I have included all – and chose the form *AABBAACAA*, which provided him with variety and a means of expressing the

⁸²Hauge, WSV I: 343.

text more skillfully (Example 24). The romance, set as a German *Lied* infused with elements from Norwegian folk music, begins with a constantly moving tenor line paired with pedal points in both soprano and bass. The *perpetuum mobile* character of the accompaniment in the *A* section reflects the moving wind, clouds, and sea, and also the poet's wandering thoughts which flow with the elements, his vivid memories of his hometown by the North Sea, barren seashores where whales would strand and fishing boats fight the rough seas, near fjords carved out between glacier-covered mountains flanked by trees with red fruit. He contemplates how wonderful it was to slumber in the light, fragrance-filled groves as a child, and how his sorrows, which he would experience awake or asleep later in life, would be alleviated by the memories of childhood.

In the *B* section (ms. 15-32), the accompaniment follows the harmonic rhythm of the voice as the poet recalls the dark valleys without trails or name, cool and quiet like empty churches, weeping birches shivering over black rivers, and flower beds beneath the thrush's nest, all knowing and feeling the yearning and happiness in his soul. For the *C* section (ms. 46-72), Kjerulf chooses a choral setting to portray Welhaven's praise of the Almighty for providing us all with the organ-like music from mountains and fjords and the sweet conciliatory music of the song-bird. This section is the only section that is not repeated.

The romance, set predominantly in F minor, begins with a one-measure introduction in which the tenor carries a small folk melody motive which brings to mind Grieg's *Morgenstemning* [Morning Mood] (Peer Gynt Suite No. 1, Opus 46), from twenty years later. The voice, accompanied by a single C in the soprano and sustained open fifth in the bass – another folk music element – immediately picks up the motive and repeats it in a slightly varied form in thirds with the piano. Also drawn from Norwegian folk music is the dissonant major seventh-chord in ms. 3 and 4. After repeating the motive in unison in the inner voices in ms. 5 and 6, Kjerulf swiftly moves to A^b major, then returns to F minor where he repeats the motive in the bass line while the soprano copies the melody; both piano and voice conclude on a half cadence on the dominant. Subsequently, with a smooth two-measure transition, Kjerulf brings the key back to A^b major in measure nine. Here the accompaniment descends in half steps while the voice ascends, as if being longingly immersed in Welhaven's childhood memories. Kjerulf then returns to F minor and a new half cadence on the dominant. The return to F minor provides a clever transition to the second stanza, i.e., the repeat of the *A* section, as well as a bridge to the contrasting *B* section.

Bergen Stift

Nu gaar Ø - sten - vin - den med et Suk i - gjennem
 Mi - ne Barndoms - da - ge er en bil - led - smyk - ket
 Nun gehn O - sten - win - de seuf - zer ähn - lich durch die
 Mei - ner Kindheit Ta - ge sind gleich bil - der - rei - cher

4
 Lin - den, og mod Ves - ten gli - der Sky - en
 Sa - ge, i hvert Bil - led er en To - ne
 Lin - de, und gen We - sten glei - ten Wol - ken
 Sa - ge, die da klin - get wun - der - süß und

7
 blidt, og min Længsel føl - ger til de
 lagt, I min Drøm paa Fjeldet, un - der
 sacht. Und mein stil - les Sehnen folgt mit
 leicht. In der Klüf - te Räumen, wo die

Example 24. Bergens Stift [Bergen Diocese]. Page 1.

11

fjer- ne Bøl- ger, hvor min Barn- dom gyn- ge- de saa tidt.
 Fos- se- væl- det, har en Hul- dre mig sin Har- pe rakt.
Wehmuthstränen nach der Kind- heit Land voll Zauber- pracht.
Wasser schäumen, ei- ne Fee mir ih- re Har- fe reicht.

15

Kjen-der du de sva- le, mør- ke kir- ke- stil- le Da- le
 Har du se- et Sko- ven hæn- ge fro- digt o- ver Vo- ven,
Wo in küh- len Grün- den sich so stil- le Plät- ze fin- den,
Sahst den Wald du hæn- gen, wo sich wil- de Stru- del drän- gen

19

u- den Ar- ner, u- den Sti og Navn? Ved de sor- te
 fra det lu- ne far- ve- ri- ge Fjeld? Der, blandt Blomster-
oh- ne Hüt- te, Namen o- der Pfad? Wo der Strom zer-
her vom far- ben- reichen Felsen- hang? Un- ter Blu- men-

24

El - ve Taa - re - bir - ke skjæl - ve; de har nævnt mig
 be - de un - der Dros lens Re - de, sprang min dy - be
 split - te Trau - er - bir - ke zit - tert, was mir fehlt mein
 bee - te wo die Drosseln flö - ten, mei - ner See - le

28

al - le mi - ne Savn. 1. Væld.
 Sjø - le - glæ - des
 Herz ge - fun - den hat.
 schön - ster Quell ent - sprang.

32

Ved mit E - dens Gjør - de er en Kæm - pe - vagt paa -
 Der er nøg - ne Stran - de, hvor de klip - pe - sto - re
 An des Gartens Tho - re, steht, den Rie - sen - fuss im
 Da, am nackten Strande, wo der ries' - ge Wallfisch

35

fær - de: vil - de Jøk - ler split - te Sky - en
Hva - ler lan - de, un - der Tord - ners og Or - ka - ners
Moo - re, hø - her als die Wol - ke, ei - ne
naht dem Lan - de, wenn der Don - ner kracht, der Sturm - wind

38

ad;
Gny;
Wacht:
heult,

men i Styrkens Bel - te om de
der er dy - be Bug - ter, hvor de
ih - ren Gür - tel schmücket zauber -
an den tie - fen Buch - ten, reift das

42

barske Hel - te har en Di - se vir - ket Ro - sens Blad.
rø - de Frug - ter gro ved Bred - den af din Snekkes Ly.
haft ge - sti - cket von des Ber - ges Göt - tin, Blumen - pracht.
Obst in Schluchten, wo dein Boot im si - chern Ha - fen weilt.

46

Der har Her - ren stil - let for din Ringhed Almagts
 Sieh der All - macht Stür - ke, Wurm, in sol - chem heh - ren

52

Bil - led, der er Or - gelklang fra Fjeld og Fjord;
 Wer - ke. Heller Or - gelklang erbraust vom Strom,

59

der vil Droskens To - ne kvæ - ge og for - so - ne i det klip - pe-hval-te
 lass mit süssen Tö - nen hier dein Herz versöh - nen, in dem mächt'gen hohen

65

Tem - pel - chor.
Fel - sen - dom.

72

Der var godt at blun - de i de ly - se, duft - op -
Hil dig Nor - ges Brin - ge! Un - der Stor - mens
Dort war's hold zu träumen, in den lichten, duft - er -
Heil dir, Norwegs Mau - er! in des Stur - mes

76

fyld - te Lun - de, hvor min Vug - ge o - ver - skyg - get
vin - ter - li - ge Vin - ge er du hær - det til din Jet - te -
füll - ten Räu - men, wo im Schat - ten mei - ne Wie - ge
win - ter - lichem Schau - er, stehst du fest ge - grün - det wie aus

78

stod;
dyst;
stand;
Erz,

for hver
men bag
raubt mir
un - term

81

kval-fuld Slum-mer, for hver vaa-gen Kum-mer, er min Vug-ge-ga-ve Læ-ge-
Pansrets Bu - e blus - ser Fromheds Lu - e, ban - ker Hjer - tet mod Na - tu - rens
Qual den Schlummer, schmerzt mich wach der Kummer, reicht mir La-bung meiner Mu - se
Pan-zer-schil-de hegst du fromme Mil - de, der Na - tur weihst du dein vol - les

84

V.8. rod.
Hand.

V.9. Lyst.
Herz.

Like the *A* section, the *B* section, with stanzas three and four, opens with a one-measure chordal motive which oscillates, first between D^b major and A^b major (ms. 15-18), and then, via a quick transition to E^b major in measure 20, between B^b minor and F minor (ms. 23-24). Kjerulf also uses the motive as an accompaniment for different melodic lines, e.g., measures 15-20 and 23-26. The *B* section further includes the romance's first clear cadence (m. 30), which concludes the third stanza. At the end of the fourth stanza, Kjerulf cadences on the mediant in F minor, which provides him with a means to return gracefully to the *A* section and the fifth and sixth stanzas.

The *C* section, the seventh stanza, is a chorale, the second such setting by Kjerulf to a text by Welhaven.⁸³ This is the only stanza that the composer provides with its own music. In the first 13 measures, where the poet praises the Lord for the music in Nature, the right-hand accompaniment is chordal and the bass line moves in octaves in a stately rhythm, ending on a half cadence which is preceded by a suspension and marked by a *fermata*. In the last eight measures, the piano doubles the voice line and concludes with a clear chorale cadence – vi, ii^{6/5}, I^{6/4}, V⁷, I – which is also preceded by a suspension. The final cadence is immediately followed by a reiteration of the stately rhythm in a transition which progresses through G^b major, back to D^b major, ultimately ending in F minor in preparation for the repetition of the *A* section and the last two stanzas. Kjerulf concludes Welhaven's homage to Bergen with a four-measure postlude that, in a sweeping downward motion, settles in A^b major.

Bergens Stift is a rare example of directional tonality⁸⁴ in Kjerulf's music, whereby the F minor tonic key is ultimately supplanted by the A^b major in which the setting ends.⁸⁵ The "pious light" and "beating heart" are counterpoised to the stark wintry coast; these warm sentiments bring about the final shift to the major, a shift already foreshadowed at the end of the third strophe and by the sublime "organ sound" of the seventh strophe in D^b major. Kjerulf's strong interest in concentrated motivic variants – as we have seen in *Lokkende Toner* [Alluring Strains] among other settings – is reflected here in his initial emphasis on

⁸³The other is *Sangens Væld* [The Poetic Well] HK 142.

⁸⁴Directional tonality, which focuses on works including songs that begin in one key and end in another, is discussed in William Kinderman and Harald Krebs, eds., *The Second Practice of Nineteenth Century Tonality* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 1996).

⁸⁵Kjerulf first used directional tonality in his German *Lied Täuschung* [Deception] from 1853. Other examples (of directional tonality in his romances) are *Die Schwester* [The Sister] from 1856, and *Der Einsiedler* [The Hermit], *Ved Søen* [By the Lake], *Taylor's Sang*, and *Saknaden* [Longing], written between 1861 and 1866. In all the before mentioned songs Kjerulf moves either from major or minor to the parallel key at the closing of the song. More elaborate examples of directional tonality are found in *Bøn for den Elskede* [Prayer for the beloved] from 1854, which begins in C minor and modulates to E major, and *Hyrdepigens sang* [The Shepherdess' Song], Kjerulf's last song written in 1867, which begins in C major and ends in A major.

the semitone G-A^b in the very first measure of the song. It is the note A^b that defines the mode as F minor, but this same pitch will ultimately become the tonic, and it is reinforced in bass octaves at *Lyst* [wont], the very last word of the text. In this last of his sensitive postludes to a Welhaven romance, Kjerulf recalls the earlier D^b sonority from [*Tempel*]-*chor* (m. 66) three bars from the close, which lends a plagal character to the final cadence.

In summary, after his return to Christiania in 1851, having studied with Gade in Copenhagen and Richter in Leipzig, Kjerulf matured substantially as a composer, perfecting both his pan-European and Nordic romance styles. He felt more secure about himself, made fewer revisions, and his key changes became increasingly daring. He now employed increasingly elaborate accompaniments, as is evident in his last (1861) version of *Aftenstemning*, a romance that shows striking characteristics of the German *Lied*. *Aftenstemning* displays modulations to the submediant and relative minor, and in portraying the sentiments of the poem, the accompaniment acts more independently of the vocal line, foreshadowing and echoing the voice.

Kjerulf's setting of Welhaven's poem *Lokkende Toner*, in addition to five nationalistic poems by Bjørnson adopted from his newly published peasant story *Arne*, mark the zenith of his songs written in the Norwegian idiom. Interestingly, all his Norwegian songs are set in the keys of D, E, F, and G, making reference to the four authentic church modes of the Middle Ages, modes that were used as basic scales in Norwegian folk music. Soon after their publication in 1859, Kjerulf, pessimistic as always, writes to his friend Nicolaysen: "They say that there is not a Norwegian tone in me – and then the Arne *viser* strike their ears. But I assume that they'll spit them out again and bury them under a whole load of new Norwegian idiocy. It is going to H[ell] this way."⁸⁶ But Kjerulf was wrong. His Norwegian *viser* became an instant success with the publishers and public, and during the next two decades he became one of the most popular composers in Norway.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ "Om mig siger de nu, at der ikke er en norsk Tone i mig – og saa kommer Arneviserne lige ind i Ørene paa dem. Men de spytter dem vel ud igjen, kan jeg tænke og begraver dem under en hel Ladning af nynorsk Noksagt. Det hele bær til H... paa denna Vis" (Moe 1918: 240).

⁸⁷ Kari Michelsen, *Musikkhandel i Norge fra begynnelsen til 1909* [Music score sales in Norway from the beginning to 1909] (Universitetet i Oslo, 2010) 229-241.

Postlude: Reception, Influence, and Legacy

Kjerulf's fame during his lifetime was essentially confined to Scandinavia; his music was issued solely by Nordic publishers.⁸⁸ The publication practice in the 1840s when Kjerulf started writing his songs was mainly based on what customers wanted; for the most part, they were amateurs in their twenties and thirties, belonging to the growing class of businessmen in Norwegian coastal towns and lower officials. Of these, more than half wanted songs and piano pieces for singing and playing at home. Norwegian composers were in high demand; thus Kjerulf, being the first Norwegian romance composer and also a composer who set contemporary poets to music, became increasingly popular with music buyers, although many found his piano accompaniments too demanding.⁸⁹

Kjerulf's first collection of songs, *Sex Sange med Accompanement af Pianoforte*, [Six Songs with Piano Accompaniment] Opus 1, was published by J. W. Cappelen in Christiania in 1841, his Opus 2, *Romancer*, by W. Lindorff in Christiania in 1851-52, after which the Swedish publisher A. Hirsch, who did the most to promote Kjerulf, published all his subsequent collections, starting with *Sex sånger för en röst med accompanement af piano* [Six songs for one voice with piano accompaniment], Opus 3, with texts in Norwegian and Swedish, in 1856.⁹⁰ The songs were sold in Christiania and could also be bought by mail. In addition, the Swedish firm Gehrman issued his sheet music. In 1867, realizing that Norwegian folk tunes sold well at home, he asked the Norwegian publisher Warmuth to issue his *Norske Folkeviser* [Norwegian Folk Songs]. The same year he asked the Danish publisher Emil Erslev to publish his *Danske og norske Sange med Piano* [Danish and Norwegian Songs with Piano], Opus 17. Still Hirsch issued Caralis's⁹¹ translations of Kjerulf's English songs, which were published in *Sange med Pianoforte, 11. Hefte* [Sange med Pianoforte, 11. Collection], Opus 16. Before the collection was issued, Hirsch asked the Swedish composer Hallström to evaluate the songs. He answered that despite some of them being difficult to

⁸⁸Kjerulf tried to find a German publisher for his songs in 1865, but was unsuccessful (Kjerulf's unpublished diaries, 19 Oct. 1865).

⁸⁹Michelsen, 2010: 248.

⁹⁰Grinde, 1956: 41-42.

⁹¹The Danish author Caspara Preetzmann.

sing and play, “the songs are wonderful and should all be printed, if you have any trust in the judgement of your friend Ivar Hallström.”⁹²

After his death in 1868, Kjerulf’s fame continued to rise, and his music spread from Scandinavia to the continent in the 1870s and 1880s. In the 1870s, his songs were translated into German, and for the next 50 years Kjerulf’s romances and piano pieces were issued by numerous publishing firms in Germany, including in Berlin, Leipzig, Stuttgart, and Cologne. In Scandinavia, large collections of his romances, piano pieces, and choral works were issued as well. Between 1877 and 1884 Hirsch published 108 of Kjerulf’s circa 130 songs in three volumes, and Warmuth issued 30 of his romances.⁹³

With the transcription of some of his songs for violin and piano, and the translation of many of the songs – including the Welhaven – into English by Theo Marzials, a large number of Kjerulf’s works reached English and American audiences. In London, Edward Dannreuther and Henry Holmes performed “Two Norwegian Songs” by Kjerulf at an Orme Square Concert on 22 November 1883 amidst works by Schubert, Beethoven, Tchaikovsky, and Liszt,⁹⁴ and in 1890, 48 of Kjerulf’s songs were issued by the New York publisher G. Schirmer; in 1908 his *Længsel* with text by Christian Winther (in German translation as *Sehnsucht*) was included in *The Artistic Soprano: A collection of standard ballads and arias by celebrated composers*, published by M. Witmark & Sons and in *Famous Songs: Standard songs by the best composers*, published by John Church Company in 1912.

Længsel was one of Kjerulf’s earliest romances, and overwhelmingly the one most popular abroad, although it is a mere trifle compared with Kjerulf’s more mature songs. Already in 1900 the romance, with the English title *Last Night*, was recorded by the soprano Marie Romaine and issued by Victor. Between 1900 and 1925 no fewer than 12 different performers recorded the romance on Victor; only one recorded it with the original Danish text. Before 1926, Victor had issued 46 recordings of works by Kjerulf, including two of the Welhaven songs, *Nøkken* [The Water Sprite] and *Lokkende Toner* [Alluring Strains].

In 1952 the first Kjerulf romance album was recorded in Norway by the soprano Eva Prytz and pianist Ivar Johansen, and issued by Decca in an album also including songs by Grieg. In 1975, the Norsk Kulturråd [the Arts Council Norway] issued two record albums of Kjerulf with 21 romances, 15 with baritone Olav Eriksen and pianist Einar Steen-Nøkleberg, and 16 with soprano Hallgerd Benum Dahl and pianist Robert Levin. Orpheus issued recordings

⁹²“Visorna äro herrliga och böra alla tryckas, om du har nogot tillit til omdömet hos Vännen Ivar Hallström.” It seems that the only song that Hirsch refused the print was the French *A toi* with text by an anonymous poet (Grinde 2003: 203; 261).

⁹³Grinde, 1956: 49-56.

⁹⁴Jeremy Dibble, “Dannreuther and the Orme Square Phenomenon,” in *Music and British Culture 1785-1914: Essay in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich* (Oxford University Press, 2000).

of 20 of Kjerulf's German *Lieder* with baritone Udo Reinemann accompanied by Noël Lee in 1985; in 1992, a collection of music for male choir was released, and in 1999, soprano Ann Kristin Sørvåg with Audun Keyser released an album with songs by Thrane, Kjerulf, Grieg, Christian Sinding,⁹⁵ and Sverre Jordan.⁹⁶ In 2001, Kjerulf's complete works for piano was recorded by Steen-Nøkleberg. More recordings of Kjerulf's romances followed, including Isa Katharina Gericke's *Waldabendluft* in 2003, a collection of Kjerulf's German *Lieder*, and Solveig Kringelborn's *Romances – Golden era of Norwegian Music* in 2008, containing 12 songs by Kjerulf, 10 by Agathe Backer Grøndahl, and five by Grieg, indirectly displaying Kjerulf's legacy. Most recently, Isa Katharina Gericke released an album with 15 songs by Kjerulf and Agathe Backer Grøndahl in 2009. The album is a tribute to Eva Sars Nansen (1858-1907), Welhaven's niece, who, together with Grieg's wife Nina, is regarded as one of Norway's first and finest romance singers, an advocate at home and abroad of Norwegian *Lieder*.

Johan Sebastian Welhaven, although hailed as the best new poet in Norway and Denmark in the 1840s, soon fell out of fashion with the general public. His style was too conservative and the content of his poems remained the same. Nonetheless Welhaven's poetry inspired many Scandinavian composers apart from Kjerulf during the latter half of the 19th century.⁹⁷ Of the better known are the Danish composers Rung, who set six of his poems to music,⁹⁸ Emil Hartmann, four,⁹⁹ Peter Erasmus Lange-Müller, four,¹⁰⁰ and Franz Joseph Gläser, ten.¹⁰¹ The Swedish composer Wilhelm Peterson-Berger set one poem, *Ved havet* [By the Sea].¹⁰²

In Norway, no fewer than 43 professional and amateur composers set Welhaven texts, including the professionals Johan Svendsen, who set two poems, the German immigrant Friedrich August Reissiger, six,¹⁰³ Johan Gottfried Conradi, six,¹⁰⁴ Johan Selmer, three,¹⁰⁵

⁹⁵Christian Sinding (1856-1942), Norwegian composer, mainly known for his piano pieces and songs.

⁹⁶Sverre Jordan (1889-1972), Norwegian composer of orchestral and chamber works and songs.

⁹⁷The listing of other composers' works in footnotes 7-17 is taken from Halvorsen 1908: 373-376.

⁹⁸6 *Digte af Welhaven; Romancer og Sange I*. [6 Poems by Welhaven; Romances and Songs I].

⁹⁹Two were published in *Opus 41, Norsk Lyrik, Sang-Album II* [Opus 41, Norwegian Poetry, Song-Collection II], two were published as sheet music.

¹⁰⁰Three are in *Opus 16; Lange-Müller Album*, one was published as sheet music.

¹⁰¹*Seks Sange, Digte af Welhaven* [Six Songs, Poems by Welhaven] and *8 Sange af Welhaven og Bergsøe* [8 Songs by Welhaven and Bergsøe].

¹⁰²Opus 11.

¹⁰³All the songs are for male choir and published in different collections.

¹⁰⁴3 *Digte af Welhaven, Opus 8* [3 Poems by Welhaven, Opus 8], and *Tre smaasange, Opus 9* [Three Small Songs, Opus 9].

¹⁰⁵2 *Digte, Opus 49*, nr. 2, *Barnlige sange, Opus 22*, nr. 4 [Childlike Songs, Opus 22, no. 4], and Opus 37.

Per Winge, two,¹⁰⁶ and Johannes Haarklou, one.¹⁰⁷ Agathe Backer Grøndahl, the first Norwegian female professional composer, set one, *Ved Sundet* [By the Strait], which is among her most venerated songs.¹⁰⁸ While Grieg never set Welhaven's poetry to music, he wrote two songs for him: Bjørnson's *Serenade til Welhaven*, on the occasion of Welhaven's retirement from the University in 1868, and Moe's *Stille nu* [Now Silence] written for Welhaven's funeral in 1873.



The Bourgeois is playing, 1865 (from Michelsen, *Musikkhandel i Norge*, op. cit.).

Remarkably, not only Agathe Backer Grøndahl, but fully 12 of these 43 composers were women. As elsewhere in Europe in the 19th century, *Hausmusik* was part of every-day life in most educated homes, and taking piano lessons and performing at home had become, particularly for the female members of the family, a must.¹⁰⁹ Kjerulf, himself a piano teacher, once lamented to his brother Hjalmar on what he called “the meaningless ambition of the parents,” wishing that every girl, re-

gardless of talent, should have to study the piano: “It is completely wrong to force people to execute the noble arts just because it is supposed to belong to the general education. My God, how much more pleasant many a young girl would be if she never had to occupy herself with strumming on the piano.”^{110,111}

¹⁰⁶ *Sex Mandskvartet-Sange*, nr. 1 [Six Male Quartet Songs, no. 1], *Norske Mandskor*, nr. 7 [Norwegian Male Choir, no. 7]. Of the 19th-century amateur and professional composers, no fewer than six were related to Kjerulf: Peder Carl Lasson (lawyer), Bredo Lasson (government official), and the composers Nils Lasson, Per Lasson, Otto Winter-Hjelm, and Per Winge.

¹⁰⁷ *Opus 2. Tre Sange*, nr. 3.

¹⁰⁸ *Opus 16. 6 Sange*.

¹⁰⁹ Mass production of the piano had made it affordable to acquire an instrument. The Norwegian piano builders Brødrene Hals produced 10,000 instruments between 1847 and 1890 (Michelsen 2010: 176; 182).

¹¹⁰ “Det er det galeste man kan gjøre saaledes at tvinge Folk til at udøve de skjøne Kunster, blot fordi det ligesom skal høre til den almene Dannelse. Ak Gud, hvor langt elskværdigere mangen ung Pige vilde være, naar hun aldrig havde befattet sig med Klaverklimpren” (Moe 1917: 243).

¹¹¹ But why especially the piano, which was expensive compared to a flute, violin or cello? The reasons were the cultural mores: when playing the flute, a woman had to purse her lips, playing the violin could lead to an unattractive mark on her neck, and when playing the cello, she had to sit with her legs apart, all of which could be avoided if she played the piano or could sing. Piano playing was looked upon as very attractive and an excellent tool for finding the right husband; “A girl could finger a harpsichord, a clavichord, or a pianoforte with her feet demurely together, her face arranged in a polite smile or a pleasantly earnest concentration. . . . There she could sit gentle and genteel, and be an outward symbol of her family's ability to pay for her education and her decorativeness, of its striving for culture and the graces of life, of its pride in the fact that she did not have to work and that she did not ‘run after’ men” (Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos, a Social History* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954) 65).

For many women – and for that matter men, including Kjerulf himself – the path from playing the piano to composing was short. Nevertheless, the number of female composers in Norway is impressive; women not only performed, they created their own music. During the period 1811 to 1909 more than one hundred women had their works printed; their compositions represented 11 percent of the total number of scores sold, with Agathe Backer Grøndahl outselling *every* male composer from 1890 to 1909.¹¹² The majority of their works was piano pieces and songs.

Three of the most popular Norwegian female composers were Frederikke Egeberg and Emma Dahl, both Kjerulf's contemporaries, and his younger student Agathe Backer Grøndahl. Frederikke Egeberg (1815-1861), an amateur composer, was the youngest of ten children and the only daughter of a rich Christiania merchant. She started studying piano early, and before the age of 18 had performed concertos by Hummel and Kalkbrenner, at closed concerts at the *Music Lyceum* and at private soirées at home, where Ole Bull – a close friend of her brother, a talented viola player – was a frequent guest. Several other members of her family were musically talented, including her nieces Frederikke Lindboe and Anna Egeberg, both composers of printed songs and piano pieces. Being cared for economically and never marrying, Frederikke Egeberg could pursue her music career as she pleased; however she never received any formal education in music theory and composition, nor did she want to study abroad. Of her more than 50 published songs, a majority were set to religious poems, and the rest to poems by Welhaven¹¹³ – whose romantic poetry fit the idiom of the time perfectly – Wergeland, and Bjørnson. One of her first and most popular songs was Welhaven's *Julemorgen* [Christmas Morning], issued in 1851, ten years after Kjerulf's first collection of romances.

Between 1850 and 1859, Frederikke Egeberg was the third “best selling” composer in Norway, ahead of Felix Mendelssohn, Johann Strauss, Sr., and even Kjerulf.¹¹⁴ The latter was not pleased with this development, writing, in a condescending letter to Theodor: “There are great changes in the world of music. Frederikke Egeberg writes her fingers off and has success with her horrible dilettantish miscreations. . . . both Lindemens [sic] have also published new music. These gentlemen are, however, true musicians. The young Mr. [Just] Lindeman has definite talent; he has published a collection of romances without words, very difficult to play. . . . Of course, this is a collection that nobody pays attention to, while everybody reaches for Frederikke Egeberg. Great prospects!”¹¹⁵

¹¹²Michelsen, 2010: 243-249.

¹¹³Frederikke Egeberg set 13 of Welhaven's poems to music, eight were printed (Halvorsen 1908: 373-376).

¹¹⁴Michelsen 2010: 248.

¹¹⁵“I den musikalske Verden er her stor Forandring. . . . Frederikke Egeberg skriver Fingrene af sig og gjør Lykke med sin forferdelige diletantiske søleri. . . . begge Lindemænd give ogsaa Musik fra sig. Disse Herrer

Others were more accepting of Frederikke Egeberg's work. The musicologist Johan Gottfried Conradi included her in his 1878 *Kortfattet historisk Oversigt over Musikens Udvikling og nuærende Standpunkt i Norge* [A Short Historical Review of the Development of Music and its contemporary Status in Norway], the first music history in Norway.¹¹⁶ He writes: "This lady, who just devoted herself to music for her own pleasure, has issued several small compositions, that all speak of a natural talent and strive for character."¹¹⁷ A sweet story about Frederikke Egeberg: in 1845, she sent the dying poet Wergeland a wallflower, which he placed in his window. Just before he passed away, he wrote a poem to the flower, a poem that Frederikke Egeberg set to music, but sadly Wergeland did not live to hear. The poem is one of Wergeland's most cherished, as is Frederikke Egeberg's song.



Frederikke Egeberg (from Dahm, *Kvinner Komponerer*, op. cit.).

Emma Freysse-Sessi (1819-1896), a German mezzo-soprano, visited Norway during a performance tour to Scandinavia where she met Welhaven's publisher Johan Dahl in 1841 and married him a year later, becoming Emma Dahl. With her, Norway gained a professional singer with a thorough education who had performed in a number of European opera houses. Both Kjerulf and Welhaven knew her well, since the Dahls' home, as well as the Egebergs', was a gathering place for artists, authors, and scientists.¹¹⁸

ere imidlertid virkelig Musikere. Den unge Hr. [Just] Lindeman har decideret Talent; han har udgivet et Hefte Romancer uden Ord, meget svære at spille. . . . Naturligvis er dette Hefte det, som Ingen ændser, mens Alle gribe efter Frederikke Egeberg. Skjønne Udsigter!" (Grinde 2003: 284).

¹¹⁶The book was a revised version of *Résumé de l'histoire de la musique en Norvège et coup d'oeil sur son état actuel dans son pays* 1878, a brochure that Conradi had written for the World Exhibition in Paris the same year (Øyvind Nordheim, "Johan Gottfried Conradi," *Store norske leksikon* (2011-09-30) http://snl.no/.nbl.biografi/Johan_Gottfried_Conradi/utdypning).

¹¹⁷"Denne Dame der blot dyrkede Musiken for sin Fornøjelse, har levert flere mindre Kompositioner, som alle røbe en naturlig Begavelse og Stræben efter Karakteristik" (Kristiania, 1878) 57, in Cecilie Dahm, *Kvinner komponerer* (Oslo: Solum, 1987) 23.

¹¹⁸Frederikke Egeberg and Emma Dahl must have met at musical soirées, since Frederikke Egeberg's brother was a friend of Emma Dahl's husband. In her only extant letter, Frederikke Egeberg writes, "I have received your greetings from my brother via your husband, and that you wished the ending of [my song] *The Wood Spirit's Promise* [Huldrens Løfte] to be changed somewhat – I am heartedly thankful for every suggestion in that respect, a little sign from you cannot be anything but instructive for me. – I am looking very much forward to hear you sing it, because it will be a hitherto unknown pleasure for me to hear one or another of my songs performed with your lovely mature voice and true expressive interpretation." ["Jeg har ved min Broder igjennem Deres mand faaet en Hilsen fra Dem, at De ønskede Slutningen af 'Huldrens Løfte' noget forandret – og jeg til være hjertelig taknemlig for ethvert Forslag i saa Henseende, da et Vink fra Dem ikke kan andet end være laererigt for meg. – Jeg længes meget efter at høre Dem synge den, thi det vil være en hidtil ukjent Nydelse for mig at høre en eller anden af mine Sange fremhævet ved Deres deiligt udviklede Stemme og sande udtryksfulde Foredrag"] (Dahm 1987: 31).



Emma Dahl.

Kjerulf was impressed by her voice in the early days of her career, and Grinde argues that it was probably he who wrote the glowing review in *Den Constitutionelle* after her first concert in Christiania, where she sang operatic excerpts: “She won big applause from beginning to end; as Tancred, as a Swiss maid, as Weber’s Agathe, and as Amire in the last scene from *La Somnabula* [sic]. One was particularly pleased with the latter. Her performance here was so beautiful and moving, her singing so pure and sensitive.”¹¹⁹

Emma Dahl started composing in her teens, setting texts by Rellastab, Moser, and Heine, but her main ambition was a career as a singer.¹²⁰ Sadly, having taken on coloratura roles that were far too demanding for her voice, she was soon burned out. She then turned to giving singing lessons and composing.

She left behind several piano pieces and some 40 songs, the most well-known being *Margrethes vuggesang* [Margrethe’s Lullaby] from Ibsen’s play *Kongsemnerne* [The Pretenders], a song she wrote three years before Grieg wrote his famous version. The play was printed in 1864 by her husband’s publishing firm, with her music attached. She also set two of Welhaven’s texts, *Aftenstemning* [Evening Mood] and *Sangens Væld* [The Poetic Well]. Whether Kjerulf acknowledged her talent as a composer is not known. In 1864 he writes in his diary: “At the Dahls. . . Emma’s just-published melody to Bjørnson’s ‘Hidden Love’ was also sung and admired.”¹²¹ The public loved her songs, and between 1860 and 1869 she was on a par with Kjerulf as the sixth most popular composer in Norway, according to the sales of sheet music as compiled by Michelsen.¹²²

¹¹⁹ “Hun høstet stærkt Bifald fra først til sidst; som Tancred, som Schweizerpige, som Weber’s Agathe og som Amire i Slutningsscenen fra *La Somnabula*. Især tiltaltes man af den sidste. Hendes Spil var her saa smugt og bevæget, hendes Sang saa ren og udtrykksfuld” (ibid. 35).

¹²⁰ Ibid. 39.

¹²¹ “Hos Dahls. . . Emmas netop trykte Melodi til Bjørnsons ‘Han tvær over Bænkene hang’ [Dulgt Kjærlighed] blev ogsaa sunget og beundret (Kjerulf’s unpublished diaries, 4 Feb. 1864).

¹²² 2010: 248.

SEVERIN SKOUGAARD^s

CONCERT

i Primurerlogens Festivitetsaal den 1ste Juni 1861.

PROGRAM.

1. "Nøkken" af Halfdan Kierulf, Tenor-Solo med Quartet.
2. Aria af "Il Trovatore" af Verdi, synges af **Concertgiveren**.
3. Recitativ og Cavatine, af Rossini, synges af **M^{me} Emma Dahl**.
- 4a. "Am Meere" af Fr. Schubert,
b. Pagens Sang af Meyerbeers Huguenotterne } synges af **Concertgiveren**.
- 5a. "Mutter, o sing mich zur Ruh'" af Emma Dahl,
b. Kinderlied af Taubert, } synges af **Concertgiveren**.
6. Miserere af Opr. "Il Trovatore" af Verdi for Sopran, Tenor og Chor.
7. Quartet for Mandsstemmer.
- 8a. "Im Traum" af Gumbert,
h. Canzone af Verdis Opera Rigoletto, } synges af **Concertgiveren**.

Joint concert with the Norwegian tenor Severin Skougaard (referred to as *concertgiveren*) and singer and composer Emma Dahl, with Skougaard performing one of Dahl's songs, *Mutter, o sing mich zur Ruh*. At this point in her career, Emma Dahl was, according to Kjerulf, well past her prime.

Onsdag den 15de October Kl. 7 1850?
 giver
Studentersamfundet
 for
Nationaltheatret i Bergen
 med velvillig Assistance af Handelsstandens,
 Haandværkernes og Studenternes Sangforenin-
 ger, flere Amatricer og Amatører, samt **Mad.**
Dahl og Ole Bull
 en musikalsk Aftenunderholdning
 i *Primaverlagens Festivitetslokale*
 af følgende Indhold:

Første Afdeling:

1. Ouverture til **"Sommernatsdrøm"**
af Mendelssohn-Bartholdy.
2. **Prølog med Chør** af H. Ibsen. Chøret *"Aldemus"*
komponeret af Ole Bull, udføres af Sang-*forening*
foreningerne med Akkompagnement af Or-*chestra*
chester. *"Sangbog"*
3. **Fantasi og Bravour-Varia-**
tioner af Ole Bull, over et Thema af *"Kjærligheds-*
Bellini, udf. af Ole Bull med Akkompag-
nement af Pianoforte. *Maest.*
4. **Chør af Damer:** a) die Morgen-
dämmerung; b) die Herbstnacht; c) die
Preisvertheilung; komp. af Concone.
5. **Duet af "Stabat mater"** af Ros-
sini, udf. af Mad. Dahl og en Amatrice
med Akkompagnement af Orchester.
6. **"Rule Britannia"**, Britisk Natio-
nalsang, udf. af Sangforeningerne.

Anden Afdeling:

1. Ouverture til **"Don Juan"** af Mozart.
2. **Recitativ og Arie** af Mozarts
Opera: "La clemenza di Tito," udf. af
Mad. Dahl med Akkomp. af Orchester.
3. **Klokke-Rondo**, komp. af Paganini,
udf. af Ole Bull med Akkompagnement af
Pianoforte.
4. **Aftensang** af A. Munch, komp. af H.
Kjerulf, udf. af Studentersangforeningen.
5. **Lovsang** af B. Klein, udføres af Sang-
foreningerne.
6. **Farvel!** af Ole Bull.

Billetter a 60 Sk. ere at erholde i Dhrr. Lin-
dorff & Hansens Musikhandling samt Cappelens
og Steensballes Boghandlinger. Indgangen
aabnes Kl. 6.

Joint concert of Ole Bull and Emma Dahl in 1850. The

heading reads: "The Student Union, on behalf of the National Theater in Bergen with kind assistance from the Merchant, Craftsmen, and Student Choral Societies, several female and male amateurs, plus *Mad. Dahl* and *Ole Bull* present an evening of musical entertainment in the Free Mason Banquet Hall." Kjerulf's *Evening Song* for male choir was among the performed works.

Among Kjerulf's most talented piano students was Agathe Backer (1847-1907) – Grøndahl was her married name – who became an international pianist and the only professional female composer in Norway in her time. Kjerulf became Agathe Backer's teacher in 1860, and acknowledged her great pianistic skills. He also showed great interest in her compositions, commenting that, "she is really imaginative and seems to have great talent."¹²³ He made sure that she received lessons in music theory, and in 1865, he was instrumental in persuading her wealthy father to let her study piano and composition in Berlin. However, Kjerulf did not encourage his pupil to become a concert pianist. He writes to her in Berlin:



Agathe Backer at her confirmation.

And do become an artist if you like to, but do believe the ones who urgently cried out that you should learn all you can as long as you can, but do not make it an absolute goal to *have* to become a concert pianist. No – to be able to do it, but not having to do it – that is the best. Just follow the woman's beaten track, God willing – and bring your art along as a wonderful piece of jewelry, with which to light up around you, but do not leave this road to become a concert pianist.¹²⁴

to which the young Miss Backer answers:

I don't understand what both you and my parents can have against me becoming what one calls an artist, ... it just seems to me that it must be a lovely independent future for a woman just to strive for, if possible, giving people pleasure, and particularly as a means to be able to travel and see some of the world! But time will show, I just feel that there is something inside of me that will never give me peace, but constantly drive me forward ... because I love art so dearly, that the longing to conquer it is inexpressible!¹²⁵

¹²³Hun finner virkelig paa noget og det lader til at hun virkelig har talent" (Grinde 2003: 283).

¹²⁴"Og bliv saa Kunsterinde saameget De har lyst, men tro ogsaa dem der manende raabe til Dem, lær Alt hvad De kan saalænge De kan, men sæt ikke som uafvigeligt Maal det at *skulle* blive Concertspillerske. Nei – at kunne det og ikke behøve det – det er det Bedste. Gaa De Kvindens almindelige Vei, hvis Gud forunder Dem det – tag saa Deres Kunst med Dem som et herligt Smykke hvormed De kan lyse op rundt om Dem, men forlad ei denne Vei for at blive Concertspillerske" (Dahm 1987: 65).

¹²⁵"Jeg forstaar ikke, hvad baade De og mine Forældre kunne have imod at jeg skulde blive, hvad man

During her studies in Berlin with the noted piano teacher Professor Theodor Kullak, Agathe Backer composed two works for orchestra – her only such compositions. Later she studied with Hans von Bülow in Florence and Franz Liszt in Weimar; von Bülow later spoke highly about her as a composer during a visit to Norway in the 1870s, although what he said speaks more about him as a person than about her: “She has also tried composing, with unmistakable talent and success, and [given] the poor opinion I have in general about the fair sex’s ability to work with pitches (not stitches) – I ought to assume that my views on this matter are sufficiently known – I must confess, however, that Mrs. Grøndahl’s compositions are not in the same category as those of her female colleagues, to whom one has whistled the well-known local Berliner text to the Fatinitza March.”¹²⁶

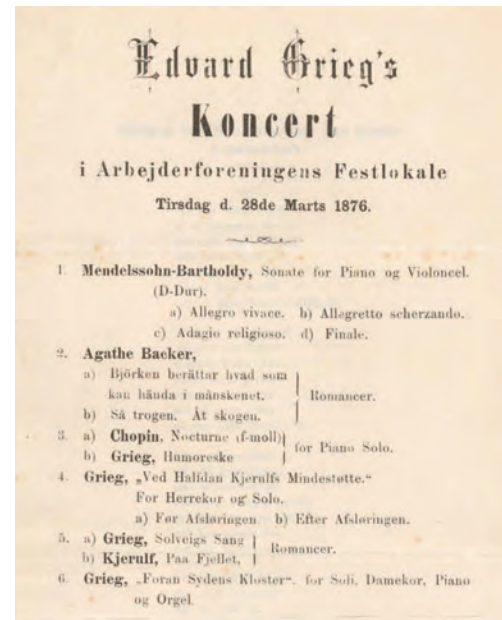
Upon returning to Christiania in 1868, Grieg, the then 24-year old conductor of the Philharmonic Orchestra, asked the then 21-year old Agathe to perform Beethoven’s Fifth Piano Concerto in E^b major at his subscription concert. Before the concert she visited her old teacher Kjerulf and played the piano part for him. She also showed him some of her songs, about which Kjerulf wrote dryly in his diary: “The songs were pretty minor and I had expected something better.”¹²⁷ However, he was very pleased with her performance at the Philharmonic concert, writing that she played [Beethoven’s] concerto like a truly gifted and inspired person, at a high technical level.¹²⁸ Unfortunately, Kjerulf never lived to hear her mature songs and piano works.

kalder Kunstnerinde... [D]et forekommer mig blot at være en skjøn uafhængig Fremtid for en Kvinde kun at stræbe, om muligt, at berede folk en Nydelse, og især som Middelet til at kunne komme til at reise og se lidt af Verden! Men det kan Tiden bestemme, jeg føler kun, at der er noget i mig, som aldrig vil give mig Ro, men uophørlig driver mig fremad, ... thi jeg elsker Kunsten saa høit, at Længselen efter at beherske den er ubeskrivelig!” (Ibid. 66.)

¹²⁶ “Hun har tillige med umiskjendelig Dygtighed og Held forsøgt sig i Komposition, og saa ringe en mening jeg end i Almindelighed har om det smukke Kjøn’s Anlæg for Nodehovedarbeide (ikke Haandarbeide), og tør vel forudsætte, at mine Andskuelser paa dette Punkt er tilstrækkelig kjendte, maa jeg dog bekjende, at fru Grøndahls Kompositioner ikke indrangerer hende blandt hine Kvindelige Kollegaer, til hvem man har fløitet den bekjendte lokale Berliner-Text til Fatinitzamarschen (Sic!)” (Dahm 1987: 70-71).

¹²⁷ “Sangene var temmelig umyndige og jeg havde ventet noget bedre” (unpublished diaries, 4 March 1868).

¹²⁸ “[Hun] spillede den som et virkelig begavet og beaandet Menneske, dertil i høieste Grad teknisk sikker” (ibid. 17 March).



Program of Grieg’s 1876 concert featuring works by Agathe Backer, as well as Kjerulf.

On 2 April 1869 the Christiania Orchestra played her *Scherzo*, the first orchestra work by a woman performed in a Norwegian concert hall, and on 5 June, her *Andante quasi allegretto*, a work that since has been lost; this concert marked her debut as both a composer and pianist. Particularly memorable was her first recital in the fall of 1870. Even more than the music she played – by Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and Schumann – her songs, performed by Nina Grieg, made the greatest impression on the audience. After the concert one of the critics wrote: “The melody to ‘A Prayer’ plus ‘To my Heart’s Queen’ [was] of such excellent and extraordinary beauty that we wholly understand the acclaim the composer received, and [we] ask her to keep it in mind, as an urgent request, to please give us more when she once more returns from the land of melodies.”¹²⁹ She did. During her lifetime Agathe Backer Grøndahl wrote over 250 songs, most in the tradition of Schubert and Mendelssohn. She also arranged Norwegian folk songs for voice and piano, in addition to composing around 150 character pieces for piano, all the while giving birth to four children and raising three – one died in infancy – and performing extensively in Europe, often with Grieg. She was a real Clara Schumann!

At the time of her death Agathe Backer Grøndahl was regarded by her contemporaries as one of the best pianists and the most eminent female composer in Scandinavia. She loved to compose; in a letter to her son Fridtjof, also a pianist, she writes, “Nothing gives me more pleasure than to compose, to create something really beautiful. . . . During such moments, there is an ecstasy in one’s feelings that exceeds all else.”¹³⁰ Although she became deaf in her fifties and had to stop performing, she never stopped composing.

Agathe Backer Grøndahl and most famously Edvard Grieg carried forth the Romance tradition set in motion by Kjerfulf, firmly establishing the lasting importance of the Norwegian Art Song. The next generation of composers, notably Wilhelm Peterson-Berger in Sweden, Carl Nielsen in Denmark, Jean Sibelius in Finland. as well as Christian Sinding in Norway, would then spread the art song, with distinctive national tone colors, throughout all of Scandinavia and beyond.

¹²⁹ “Melodien til *En Bøn* samt *Til mit Hjertes Dronning* [var] af en saa fremragende og ejendommelig Skjønhed, at vi fuldstændigt kan fatte det almindelige Bifald, Komponistinden herfor høstede, og bede hende tage det med som en sterk Opfordring om at skjænke os mere, naar hun atter vender tilbage fra Melodiernes Land” (Dahm 1987: 69).

¹³⁰ “Der er ingen Glæde saa stor som den at Componere, skabe noget virkelig Skjönt. . . . Der er en Exstase i ens Følelser i saadanne Øieblikke som overgaar Alt andet” (ibid. 79).

Afterword

Halfdan Kjerulf's first romance *Nøkken* in 1840, set to text by Johan Welhaven, marks the beginning of the Norwegian *Lied* tradition. Although the two were a highly unmatched pair, which never allowed an artistic partnership, Kjerulf gained substantially from Welhaven, whose poetry set Kjerulf's "harp into motion." Welhaven's elegiac-erotic and lyrical poems and his probing romantic depiction of nature reflected Kjerulf's own sentiments: the poems were the mirror image of Kjerulf's musical thought. "Oh, I am so familiar with the melancholic themes, the gently moving, the softly enlivening," he wrote to his brother Theodor.¹³¹

What Welhaven gained poetically from Kjerulf is more indirect. His relation to the Kjerulf family was profound. His undying love for Ida brought out the best in his poetics, and when he wrote his second poetry collection, it was assembled for and dedicated to Ida's brother Hjalmar.

The views of the two men on music and nature were virtually identical; for both, music evoked nature and nature evoked music. To Welhaven, music triggered the emotions and his "heart [started to] hum its own song."¹³² Kjerulf, in the same vein, wrote to his friend Gude: "I walked in the valleys and looked up towards ... the high mountains, and I was high up ... and looked down onto the green mountain lake far, far below and the whole valley, even greener ... so filled with wonderful foliage ... and everywhere whistling brooks and streams ... I have returned refreshed, filled with light and warmth and the beauty of nature."¹³³ To Welhaven, nature was silent or latent music. To Kjerulf, nature made music spring to life, infusing the imagination.

The surge of nationalistic feeling in the 1840s was critical to both Welhaven and Kjerulf's artistic development. Inspired by the newly translated sagas, the collection of folk tunes and folk tales, Welhaven infused his poems with mystical characters and myth, which in turn inspired Kjerulf to develop his "Nordic ballad style," borrowing characteristics from folk music and songs. An important example among the Welhaven songs is the venerated, *Lokkende Toner* [Alluring Strains]. Mysticism and myth were traits shared in common with Romanticism and nationalism, and not limited to the new Norwegian idiom. An important example is Kjerulf's setting of *Ved Sundet* [By the Strait] – a Grieg favorite – in the style of

¹³¹ "Ak, jeg er saa fortrolig med de vemodige Toner, de blidt bevægende, de mildt oplivende" (Vogt 1918: 595).

¹³² Løchen 1900: 438.

¹³³ "Jeg gik i Dalene og saa op mod ... høye tinder og jeg var høyt oppe ... og saa ned paa den dybt, dybt dernede liggende grønne Bergsø og paa den hele Dal, end grønnere. ... og saa fuldt af herligt Løv ... og overalt susede Bække og Strømme. ... jeg er kommet tilbage forfrisket, opfyldt af Lys og Varme og Naturens Deilighet" (Grønvold 1919: 319).

a German *Lied*.

Welhaven, despite his original dislike for the Norwegian vernacular, slowly began to use words in his lyrics drawn from Norwegian folklore and from the vernacular, words which were nonexistent in the Danish language, e.g., in the humorous ballad *Dyre Vaa*¹³⁴ which generations of young Norwegians memorized. In this way, Welhaven was a prime initiator of the *fornorskning* [Norwegianizing] of written Danish, a trend which was continued by Ibsen, who was more influenced by Welhaven than by any other Norwegian poet.^{135,136}

Welhaven's dominating personality and close proximity to Kjerulf during the setting of his first songs caused difficulties for Kjerulf. Of the first eight Welhaven poems he set to music, four were never published by the composer, three were revised, and two totally rewritten. Despite all his struggles, Kjerulf loved Welhaven's poems. These settings were the first he returned to, revised, and composed when he began his studies with Arnold in 1848.

In addition to Kjerulf's lack of secure technical skills, he struggled with proper text setting. Welhaven was a storyteller and his poems often unfolded in a large number of stanzas, with changing moods and sentiments, and not always a strict syllabic form, features that made it difficult for Kjerulf to give them a simple strophic setting. Although through-composed settings might sometimes have been a better solution, Kjerulf seldom considered that option. Instead he made textural changes, such as inserting grace-notes, or altered the melody slightly from stanza to stanza, or simply left out some stanzas. The latter was sometimes an unfortunate solution when it changed the mood of a poem profoundly, or even damaged Welhaven's narrative. In *Elveløbet* [The River's Run] – one of Kjerulf's weakest romances – he altered Welhaven's narrative, whereas in *Alfeland* [Land of Elves] – one of his most beautiful – he did not bring the poem to its conclusion.

By contrast, Kjerulf set poems by a number of other poets with ease, including texts by his favorite German poet Geibel and by the very imposing but much younger Bjørnson, as well as poems by his younger brother Theodor. How Kjerulf's relation with these poets shaped his musical development is a promising topic for future study.¹³⁷

¹³⁴According to legend, Dyre Vaa, one of the imposing farmers in 17th century Norway, rowed an enormous troll over the Totak lake in Telemark on a Christmas Eve.

¹³⁵Seip 2007: 359

¹³⁶The author and poet Aasmund Olavsson Vinje (1818-1870), who spoke and wrote in landsmål [country language], went so far as to say that of all the Norwegian poets, Wergeland, Bjørnson, and Ibsen included, none was more Norwegian than Welhaven (Seip 2007: 427).

¹³⁷The Geibel and Bjørnson songs have been analyzed in Ida Gericke, *Halfdan Kjerulf: hans tyske romanser* [Halfdan Kjerulf: his German Lieder]. Master of Arts dissertation, Musikkhøyskolen i Oslo, 1998; and Astrid Haavardsholm, *Halfdan Kjerulfs romanser til tekster av Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson* [Halfdan Kjerulf's romances to texts by Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson]. Master of Arts dissertation, University of Oslo, 1969. The songs set to poems by Theodor Kjerulf have yet to be addressed.

Halldan Kjerulf has been regarded as the Nordic master of musical watercolor and pastel, a fitting metaphor for his musical contributions.¹³⁸ Above all, it was Welhaven's poetry that inspired Kjerulf assimilate the German romantic *Lied* in Norway, thereby fusing folklorism with art music through the creation of the new Norwegian form, *Den norske romance*.

¹³⁸Niemann 1918: 29.

Appendix: The Kjerulf Welhaven Romances for One Voice

The following listing of Kjerulf's Welhaven songs for one voice is based on Grinde.¹³⁹

Title	Romance	HK	Composed	Revised	First published
<i>Nøkken</i> [The Water Sprite]	1	11	ca. 1840	1854 and 1855	1841, Opus 1, no. 1.*
<i>Bernart af Ventadour</i> [Bernart from Ventadour]	8	21	1843		1911 "5 Efterlatte Romancer"
<i>Elveløbet</i> [The River's Run]	9	22	1843	1848-49	1851, Opus 2, no. 3.*
<i>Veiviseren synger</i> [The Mountain Guide Sings]	10	23	1843	1848	1844 In <i>Den Constitutionelle</i> 1859, Opus 6, no. 1.*
<i>Ved Havet</i> [By the Sea]	-	29	1844	1848-49	Never published*
<i>Jeg gik ved Elven</i> [I Walked by the River]	-	30	1845 6/14		Stanza 5 and 6 of HK 22*
<i>Stille Liv</i> [Quiet Life]	-	32	1845 Jan.	1851 and 1854	Never published*
<i>Aftenstemning</i> [Evening Mood]	-	35	1846	Same text as HK 88 and HK 187	Never published*
<i>Buesnoren</i> [The Bow String]	11	39	1848-49		1851, Opus 2, no. 1.
<i>Af "Alfernes Hvisken"</i> [From "The Elves' Whisper"]	12	41	1848-49		1851, Opus 2, no. 2.

continued

¹³⁹Grinde, *Halfdan Kjerulfs Samlede Romanser*, 237-247.

*Copy of score in Norsk Musikkksamling, Nasjonalbiblioteket, Oslo.

Title	Romance	HK	Composed	Revised	First published
<i>Paa Fjeldet</i> [In the Mountains]	13	42	1848-49		1851, Opus 2, no. 4.
<i>En Vaarnat</i> [A Spring Night]	17	58	1851 Oct.	Rewritten for piano	1852, Opus 2, no. 5.*
<i>Min Elskte, jeg er bunden</i> [My Beloved, I am Spellbound]	23	65	1852 March		1856, Opus 3, no. 1.*
<i>Foraarsdigt</i> [Spring Poem]	24	69	1852 June	Same text as HK 154	1977. Published by Grinde.*
<i>Aftenkvad i Maaneskin</i> [Evening Song in the Moonshine]	30	79	1853 Feb.	Same text as HK 195	1977. Published by Grinde.*
<i>Aftenstemning</i> [Evening Mood]	37	88	1853 Nov.	Same text as HK 35 and HK 187	1977. Published by Grinde.*
<i>Lokkende Toner</i> [Alluring Strains]	43	101	1854		1856, Opus 3, no. 6.
<i>Hvile i Skoven</i> [Rest in the Woods]	46	110	1856 Jan.		1858, Opus 5, no. 3.*
<i>Alfeland</i> [Land of Elves]	47	113	1856		1870, Opus 23, no. 7. Posthumous works
<i>Sangens Væld</i> [The Poetic Well]	64	142	1858	1859	1977. Published by Grinde.*
<i>Taushed og Sang</i> [Silence and Poetry]	68	147	1858		1884, "Sangor och Visor." Vol. 3, no. 100.
<i>Hjemfart</i> [Homeward Journey]	73	152	1859		1884, "Sangor och Visor." Vol. 3, no. 88.*
<i>Foraarsdigt</i> [Spring Poem]	75	154	1859 Sept.	Same text as HK 69	1863, Opus 11, no. 3.*
<i>Ved Sundet</i> [By the Strait]	81	165	1859	1862	1867, Opus 17, no. 2.

continued

Title	Romance	HK	Composed	Revised	First published
<i>Aftenstemning</i> [Evening Mood]	90	187	ca. 1861	Same text HK 35 and HK 88	1863, Opus 11, no. 4.
<i>En Sommersang</i> [A Summer Song]	99	200	1862	1864	1866, Opus 15, no. 4.
<i>Den friske Sang</i> [The Frisky Song]	104	213	1864		1866, Opus 15, no. 2.
<i>Bergens Stift</i> [Bergen Diocese]	107	216	1865		1870, Opus 23, no. 1.

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